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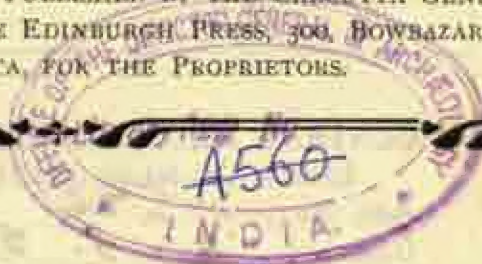
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W. M. Thackeray (*left of picture*) and Friends, 1835.

From an Early Victorian Water Colour Drawing by Mrs. Musgrave.

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Notes on the Origin of the Old Presidency General Hospital Calcutta.*

BY THE LATE D. M. MOIR, A.M., M.D., MAJOR, I.M.S.,

I. DATE OF BUILDING.

INQUIRY into the origin of the hospital soon convinced me that its early history has been involved in obscurity, and these notes are the result of an endeavour to get at the facts. The task has been greatly simplified through the courtesy of Professor C. R. Wilson, M.A., D. Litt., who afforded me every facility, and by the aid of his assistant, Mr. P. Dias, who gave me invaluable help in searching the records of the Hon'ble East India Company, which are stored in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

That some dubiety and confusion have existed the following extracts tend to show:—In 1824, Mr. Charles Lushington, of the Bengal Civil Service, published his *History, Design, and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institutions, founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity*.¹ He says that—"The premises now denominated the General Hospital were, in their original state, occupied as a garden-house by an individual, from whom they were purchased by the Government, in the year 1768, and converted into a Hospital. They were subsequently enlarged and surrounded by a wall, and now afford ample accommodation, in separate buildings, for patients and for the Medical Officers and Establishment attached to the Institution." His description, of which this is only an extract, is about as full and accurate as any that I have come across on this subject.

Mr. W. H. Carey, a descendant of the great Serampur Missionary, appears to have derived his information from the above source. In his *Good*

*Reprinted, by kind permission of Lieutenant-Colonel Buchanan, from the *Indian Medical Gazette*, Vol. XXXVIII. (Nos. 1, 2 and 3, January, February and March 1903). The buildings of which the history is given here have in recent years been removed to make room for the existing Presidency General Hospital. This reprint is slightly abridged.

¹ P. 291.



Old Days of Honourable John Company, 1600 to 1858,¹ published in 1882, he states that—"The premises now denominated the General Hospital were, in their original state, occupied as a garden-house by an individual, from whom they were purchased by the Government in the year 1768, and converted into an hospital. The hospital affords accommodation and medical treatment to Europeans belonging to His Majesty's civil, military and naval services, and to seamen belonging to private and foreign ships, and also to European paupers. All Europeans of whatever class are admitted."

The information given in Messrs. Newman and Company's *Handbook of Calcutta*² bears evidence of having been culled from the same source. "The premises now denominated the *General Hospital*, situated to the south of the Presidency Jail, were, in their original state, occupied as a garden-house by an individual, from whom they were purchased in 1768. They have been from time to time enlarged, and now afford ample accommodation, in separate buildings, for patients and for the Medical Officers and Establishment attached to the Institution."

These three authorities evince a phenomenal similarity as to their facts and phraseology, and stimulate the reader's curiosity regarding the mysterious "individual" who was the fortunate possessor of a "garden-house," which he sold to the Company for use as a hospital. There is a brief reference on the same lines in an article in the *Calcutta Review*³ for 1852, entitled *Calcutta in the Olden Time—Its Localities*. It runs as follows:—

"The *General Hospital* reared its head, as early as 1768, over the then solitary Chauringi, 'far from the city;' previous to 1768, it was the garden-house of an individual, and was purchased by Government."

Passing now to an official source, in which accuracy might be expected, we find the beginning of the hospital ascribed to quite a different date. In their *Report on the Calcutta Hospitals*⁴ by the able and comprehensive Committee appointed in 1878 to inquire into medical expenditure in Bengal, it is alleged that—

"The hospital was erected in 1795, with the centre block as the civil hospital, the east wing the European military hospital, and the west wing the native sepoy's hospital." The incorrectness of this date will be proved hereafter.

In another official statement both 1768 and 1795 are mentioned, the former for the conversion of a garden-house into the centre block of the hospital, and

¹ Vol. II, Chap. V, p. 41.

² Pp. 297-8, 3rd Edition, 1892.

³ Vol. XVIII, No. XXXVI, p. 286.

⁴ Appendix C., p. 1.

the latter for the building of the east and west blocks. The great unknown, the unnamed "individual," is here described as "a native gentleman." I allude to the *Report of the Committee on the structural needs of the European General Hospital, Calcutta*, which was published in August 1896. This is their statement:¹—"The early history of the General Hospital cannot be fully cleared up. Of the three main buildings, it is believed that the one known as the central block was not originally constructed for the purposes of a hospital, but was purchased by Government in 1768 from a native gentleman who occupied it as a garden-house. The two detached wings, known as the eastern and western blocks, were erected in 1795, the central building being then used as a Civil Hospital, the eastern building as a European Military Hospital, and the western building as a hospital for sepoys."

The records to which I have had access prove that the east and west blocks were not constructed in 1795, and that the Company did not purchase the central building from a native gentleman. At a Consultation² held on the 4th May, 1772, with the Hon'ble Warren Hastings as President of the Council at Fort William, a lengthy communication, dated the 1st May, 1772, from the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander was read and recorded. Prolix though this be, it contains in a pithy sentence the dates on which the different buildings were taken over by the Company and occupied, "The first House, or Center Building was delivered up and taken possession of 20th June, 1769, being 12 Months less 7 Days before the Limited time of the Contract. The West wing was begun to be inhabited by the sick people, April 2nd, 1770, and the East wing on June 2nd, by the New Recruits. June 13th, 1770, was the last day of my two years' contract."

Mr. Kiernander, then, was the unknown and mysterious "individual," whose garden-house was purchased and altered to form the centre block of the General Hospital, and this is the oldest of all the buildings. It could not, however, have been erected much before 1768, because we find it described as "a large strong new built house" in a letter³ to the Court of Directors dated the 4th April 1768.

Mr. Kiernander speculated largely in building operations, so it is probable that he himself was the architect of this garden-house, which he assuredly altered to constitute the nucleus of a hospital. It is quite certain that he was the contractor and builder of the east and west blocks.

¹ Para. 2, p. 1.

² Public Proceedings, January to June 1772.

³ No. 65, Public Letters to the Court of Directors, 1768-1769.

II. JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER.

To the enterprise and energy of a Swedish missionary, Calcutta, is indebted for the buildings of the General Hospital, which have stood the test of time for over one hundred and thirty years. The story of the Rev. Mr. Kiernander's life is one of adventure and vicissitude, combined with patient, strenuous effort and varied interests. He lived to the ripe old age of 88 years, three score of which were spent in India.¹ Kiernander was born at Akstad in Sweden on the 21st November, 1711; at the age of 24 he was Inspector of the Latin school at Halle; and when 28 he was ordained for the ministry. On Christmas day, 1739, he arrived in London, and was sent out to India in the following year by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, sailing in the ship *Colchester*. He arrived at Cuddalore on the 28th August, 1740, where he appears to have remained for 18 years. Cuddalore was captured by the French troops under Comte Lally on the 4th May, 1758; the mission was broken up, Kiernander was stripped of all his belongings and was given a pass to Tranquebar. This was a Danish settlement, to which Frederick IV, King of Denmark, sent the first Protestant Mission in India in 1705.

In the year 1758, fortune favoured the French power in what is now the Madras Presidency, and Fort St. David capitulated on the 2nd June. The state of Southern India being so unsettled, Kiernander eagerly accepted the invitation given him by Colonel Clive² to establish a mission in Calcutta, where he came as the first Protestant missionary to Bengal.³ He reached Calcutta on the 29th September, 1758, and was presented with a rent-free house by the Governor (Clive), who gave him all possible encouragement and support. Here he opened a mission school for as many as 175 children of European origin, many of whom he supported, at his own expense, and this school he conducted for about thirty years.

Some notion of the condition of Calcutta in 1758 is derived from Carey's description⁴:—"The state of Calcutta, when Mr. Kiernander arrived in it, was pre-eminently the living solitude of a city of idolators. *Suttee* fires were to be seen frequently blazing in the very precincts of Calcutta; fakirs ranged *ad libitum* through the town in a state of complete nudity; there was no chaplain in the city, and the service was read by a merchant who was allowed £50 per annum for his services."

In 1767 Kiernander acquired the site of the Old Mission Church, which he built mostly at his own expense. It is chiefly as the founder of this

¹ Holmes' *Bengal Obituary*.

² Carey's *Good Old Days of Honorable John Company*.

³ Basted's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*.

⁴ *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company*.

church that he is remembered in the annals of Calcutta. He finished the building in 1770 at a cost of 60,000 sicca rupees, and named it Beth Tephillah or the House of Prayer. While engaged in the construction of his own church he undertook the contract for the building of the General Hospital, which he accomplished between June 1768 and June 1770. The nature and extent of his difficulties and sacrifices to fulfil the terms of the Hospital Contract will be explained subsequently. The following extract will suffice to show that he allowed the interests of the Hospital even to take precedence of his own pet scheme—his Church. "After this I waited still several days, but I waited in vain for Chunam, and I waited in vain for a further answer. Upon this I resolved to take my own Chunam, from the Church, for to compleat the Hospital."¹

In 1778 he was afflicted with cataract, and in 1782 the operation of "couching the lens" was performed in both eyes so successfully that he wrote to the Society in London to express "his happiness, in once more being enabled to see the prosperity of the Mission." Kiernander's period of blindness, however, led to his undoing. During this time his son was in charge of his business transactions. Being young and inexperienced he fell an easy prey to unscrupulous persons, and the helpless old father signed various bonds for his son. The crash came in 1787, when he was declared bankrupt.

Kiernander retired to Chinsurah, where he was appointed Chaplain to the Dutch Church.² Even now he was not destined to be left in peace because war was declared between Great Britain and Holland in 1795, Chinsurah was captured, and Kiernander taken prisoner by the English, amongst whom so many years of his life had been spent. So he again settled in Calcutta, but the following year he had the misfortune to fracture his thigh while attempting to rise from his chair. Kiernander lingered on in suffering and in reduced circumstances till almost the close of the century, and died in Calcutta in 1799 at the age of 88 years. The bulk of these particulars are taken from that quaint book, the *Bengal Obituary*, and my excuse for quoting them is to do honour to the forgotten architect and contractor of the Presidency General Hospital.

III. INITIAL STEPS.

According to Professor C. R. Wilson,³ the Presidency General Hospital constitutes the third in chronological order of the Company's hospitals

¹ Letter to Warren Hastings—Public Proceedings, Consultations of 4th May, 1772.

² [The most complete and accurate account of Kiernander will be found in an article by the Rev. J. Long in the *Calcutta Review*, January 1847. The accounts given in Carue's *Lives of Eminent Missionaries* and in the *Asiatic Journal* are full of misstatements.—Ed., B: P. P.]

³ *Indian Medical Gazette*, January, 1903, p. 2.

in Calcutta for Europeans. The first hospital was erected in 1707 for soldiers and sailors, was located in the present Garstin's Place, near St. John's Church, and lasted for nearly half a century until the sack of Calcutta in 1756. The Company's second hospital was a make shift structure in the Old Fort, and was used for about thirteen or fourteen years from 1757 to 1769 or 1770. It is not improbable that the inception of the General Hospital was due to Lord Clive, just as the bringing to Calcutta of its builder, Mr. Kiernander, was certainly the result of his influence. At any rate the project was mooted at a Consultation of the Board over which he presided on the 29th September, 1766. There were present at this meeting the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President, Brigadier-General John Carnac, Harry Vereist, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Claud Russell, Thomas Rumbold, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall and Charles Floyer, as members.

Vereist was a friend of Clive; he acted as Governor during Clive's absence in 1766, and succeeded him in 1767. The Watts mentioned is not the same individual as the Watts who resigned in favour of Clive in 1758.* The former was named Hugh and he was only fifth in Council, whereas the latter's name was William. William was the father of Hugh Watts and he was Governor of Bengal for five days¹, from the 22nd to the 26th June, 1758, when he made over charge to Colonel Robert Clive. Randolph Marriott was at one time, I believe, in charge of Chittagong, as also was Vereist. [Marriot was second at Chittagong. See *Leaves from Editor's Note Book* *Infra*. EDITOR.] The Governor of Fort St. George from 1747 to 1750 was a Mr. Charles Floyer.² He was dismissed from the service, and was a notorious gambler. So it is unlikely that he was the same person as figured on the Fort William Board of 1766. But we find another Charles Floyer on Lord Pigot's Council at Fort St. George in 1766.³ Possibly the Fort William Floyer of 1766 may have been the same as the Fort St. George Floyer of 1776. This Council of Lord Pigot's was the notorious one in which a successful cabal was formed to kidnap and make a prisoner of the Governor, Lord Pigot. Floyer formed one of Pigot's opposition; he was recalled, was tried before the King's Bench in 1779, and was fined £1,000.

On this same Fort St. George Council of 1776 there was a Claude Russel who may have been the same as the Calcutta Claude Russel of 1766. He appears to have been a supporter of Lord Pigot. Nevertheless he also was recalled.

¹ List of the Heads of Administrations in India.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Vistas of Fort St. George*, by David Leighton, 1902. Floyer was brought up by Lord Clive from Madras in 1765 to superintend the Bengal Servants. He retired several years later, but came again to Madras.

Another Governor of Fort St. George was Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart.,¹ from 1778 to 1780. Perhaps he may have been identical with the Thomas Rumbold of the Calcutta Board.²

To return to the Consultation of the 29th September 1766,³ we find that :—"The Board taking into consideration the great inconveniency attending the want of a proper Hospital for the Military, the present one being only a temporary building in the Old Fort destitute of proper accommodations, it is judg'd expedient that a commodious one be erected as soon as possible and the Civil Architect attending the Board on this occasion he is Ordered to point out a proper spot for an Hospital to be built upon, and at the same time to deliver in a Plan of one with an Estimate of the expence."

Here, then, we have one of the earliest references to the proposed General Hospital.

It should be noted that the primary intention was to provide proper hospital accommodation for the fighting forces of the Company,—in other words, the intention was to erect a military hospital, officered by the Surgeons of the Company. This Hospital from its start has been conducted, first by the medical officers of the Hon'ble East India Company, and afterwards by those of the Indian Medical Service. From the very beginning the Government, either Company's, Queen's or Imperial, has found all the money for construction, repairs and maintenance, and has supplied the medical officers and the medical subordinates. This system has lasted for nearly a couple of centuries, from the first hospital in 1707 to what is practically the fourth hospital in 1903. The Civil Architect was Mr. J. Fortnom. He submitted a letter on the 24th December 1766, which is recorded in the Consultation of the 9th February, 1767.⁴

It was addressed to Lord Clive, but unfortunately he had left India by this time, and Mr. Verelst ruled in his stead. I say "unfortunately," because there was much vacillating indecision, not to say procrastination, displayed from this time onwards concerning the Hospital by the same members of the Board who evinced singular promptness in arranging for a new cemetery, in ordering the repairs or rebuilding of Government House, and other projects. But the Hospital did not interest them in the same manner now that the dominant influence of Clive was removed. He wanted a good hospital for his sick soldiers and sailors and their officers.

Mr. Fortnom's letter was as follows :—"My Lord and Gentlemen—Agreeable to your orders I lay before you a Plan of the Town of Calcutta

¹ List of the Heads of Administrations in India.

² The identity cannot be questioned (ENTON.)

³ Public Proceedings, Volume for May to December 1766.

⁴ Public Proceedings, Volume for January to July 1767.

with my Sentiments regarding the best situation for an Hospital, and burying-ground.

"It has been my endeavour to pitch on spots for these purposes that the fumes arising may be carry'd by the periodical winds clear of it. Yet it is not in my power to fix on any one for the Hospital where there is not some inconvenience attending it. A place of this nature must necessarily produce a considerable quantity of filth, which will require a running water to carry it off. This convenience cannot well be had on this side of the river without placing it in such a situation as will in some measure subject the Fort to the disagreeable circumstance of offensive Vapours being brought into it by the Southerly winds.

"This place I have also marked in the plan at the extremity of the Esplanade (near where the old Hospital stood) and in my opinion it is the most preferable spot of any within a proper distance of the Town and Fort. For besides the heighth (*sic*) of the ground and advantage of the River there will be a saving of at least ten p. Cent.

"I can find no spot better calculated for a Burying Ground than the one marked in the Plan.

I am with all Respect

My Lord and Gentlemen

Your most obedt. Humble Servant

NEW FORT,
24 December 1766. }

J. FORTNOM,
Civil Architect.

"Ordered that Place marked out by the Civil Architect for a Burying Ground be immediately walled around, and as soon as it is enclosed that the old one be shut up, and that the plan for an Hospital, &c., be referred for further consideration."

The objects Mr. Fortnom had in view were to secure a site for the Hospital sufficiently elevated to obtain good surface drainage and avoid flooding; sufficiently adjacent to the Hugli to allow of easy sewage disposal; sufficiently near the Fort and Town for convenience, and, if possible, not to the south of either, so that the prevailing breeze in the hot and rainy months might not convey noxious effluvia to the inhabitants. He does not seem to have seen his way to obtain the last point, judging from a plan dated 1753,¹ which was not improbably the one he used. I should locate the site chosen by him as lying near the river between the parallel lines now formed by Hastings Street and Hare Street, *i.e.*, if the "Old Hospital" referred to in this letter was Professor Wilson's first hospital on the site of the Foreign Office.

¹ Plan of Fort William and part of the City of Calcutta, 1753 surveyed and drawn by William Wills, Lieutenant of the Artillery Company in Bengal.

A PART OF HOOGLY RIVER

Commonly called

THE CALCUTTA RIVER

Bowyer BARRACOA and TAINNA FORT

with all the Soundings and Moorings

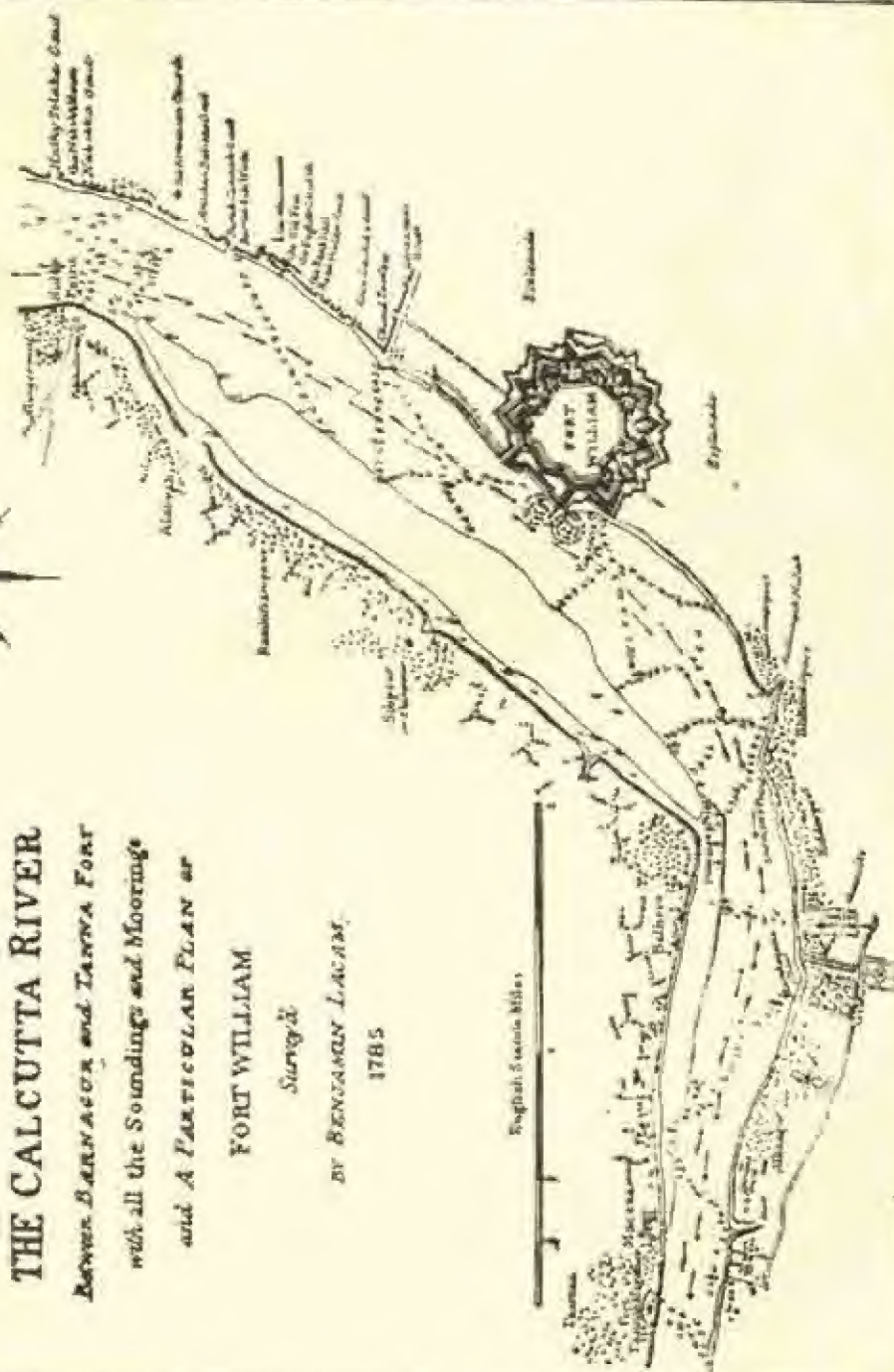
and A PARTICULAR PLAN OF

FORT WILLIAM

18

BY BENJAMIN L. ACADY.

5785



Mr. Fortnom apparently was not satisfied with his selection, because we find an entry next month that :—"The Buxey lays before the Board an extract of a letter which he has received from the Civil Architect pointing out two places on the opposite side of the river to build an Hospital upon—the one opposite Surman's Gardens, and the other opposite the Town, but recommending the former as the most eligible spot.

"At Point Sumatra opposite Surman's Gardens is the most proper spot for an Hospital from its being a wholesome situation and contiguous to the River by which the Sick may be easily transported to it and better supplied with necessaries."

These sites were on the west or Howrah Bank of the Hugli. The one "opposite the Town" may have been about Ramkrishnapur. Surman's Gardens were situated to the south of Tolly's Nullah in the vicinity of Kidderpur, between the Kidderpur Bridge and the Docks. Sumatra Point was on the opposite side of the river and is now known as Shalimar Point. The accompanying chart of the river shows these places, and is reproduced from an old one in the Port Commissioners' Office through the courtesy of Captain Petley and F. A. Lovell, Esq.

The Board accepted this recommendation and at the same consultation—"Ordered that the Civil Architect be acquainted we have fixed on the above-mentioned place for erecting an Hospital upon, and that he do therefore form and lay before us a plan of the same together with an Estimate of its expenses, taking care that proper apartments be made for such Military Officers as may be obliged to repair to Sick Quarters."

At the Consultation of the 26th August, 1767, some important business was transacted.

The Hon'ble Harry Verelst was President. The members present were—John Cartier, Richard Becher, James Alexander, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Charles Floyer and Alexander Campbell. Mr. John Cartier succeeded Mr. Verelst as Governor of Bengal, assuming office on the 26th December 1769, and he was the immediate predecessor of Mr. Warren Hastings. A letter was read from the Civil Architect reporting that Government House was "in so decayed and ruinous a condition as to require an immediate and thorough repair." He also submitted "a plan of the Hospital, intended to be built on Point Sumatra together with an Estimate of the same amounting to five Lacks of Rupees, which Calculation is made on the supposition of the buildings being of the very best materials of their kind." The Board "Ordered

* Consultation of 2nd March, 1767, Public Proceedings, Volume for January to July 1767.

* *Ibidem*.

* Public Proceedings, Volume for August to December, 1767.

the Secretary to acknowledge his letter and acquaint him in answer that he is to repair the Government House on the cheapest, best, and most expeditious manner possible." There is a significant silence as to the hospital, all mention of which is omitted in the order.

Mr. Fortnom's letter is of such interest that the portion relating to the projected hospital may be quoted *in extenso*. He planned a fine hospital in three pavilions with more accommodation than the General Hospital has had to the present day, with store-rooms and accommodation for the attendants, and houses for three Medical Officers, including one for the official who was equivalent to the present Surgeon-Superintendent. The house for the last-named has only just been completed at the end of 1902. After dealing with Government House he goes on to say :—"I also lay (before?) you, Gentlemen, a plan and estimate of the Hospital intended to be built on Point Sumatra, consisting of three separate ranges of Buildings each containing three Wards on a floor and a basement story 10 feet high, which will serve for Store Godowns and apartments for the Black People who attend in the Hospital. There is sufficient room in the Wards for 360 sick persons and the Expenditure of building it will amount to two Lacks seventy-five thousand Arcot rupees. I have also laid down in the plan three houses, one for the Head Surgeon, the other two for the Assistants, which will cost one Lack seventeen thousand Arcot rupees. The out-houses and offices according to the Plan will amount to forty thousand Arcot rupees. These calculations are made supposing the buildings all of Pucka and of the very best materials of their kind. I beg leave by this opportunity to mention that notwithstanding I attended the Sarkar sent down by the Fuzdar of Hughley and marked out the bounds of the spot (four months ago) nothing has been done towards clearing of the riotts' Hutts, on the contrary a number of others since that time have been put up."¹

This scheme seems to have been too ambitious and too expensive for the somewhat straitened resources of Bengal at the time, as may be gathered from the *Dictionary of National Biography*² :—

"During Verelst's government Bengal was reduced to a state of great impoverishment owing to the want of specie and the demands made upon its revenue by the assistance given to Madras in the war with Hyder Ali."

At the Consultation of the 16th November 1767, we find the first reference to the site of the General Hospital which was eventually decided on. The Board³ was composed of the same members as those present at the Consultation of the 26th August 1767, with the exception that Mr. James

¹ Civil Architect's Letter to the Hon. Harry Verelst, Esq., dated 24th August 1767.

² Vol. LVIII, p. 243.

³ Vide *supra*.

Alexander was not present. At this meeting they agreed to purchase Surman's gardens for the Company from Mr. Handle for 10,000 Arcot rupees, which was the price demanded by the owner. Next they considered the site of the hospital. "The President (H. Verelst) also acquainted the Board that the Reverend Mr. Kiernander (*sic*) has built a very large commodious Garden House at a proper distance from the new Fort which he imagines with a few additions may be converted into a very convenient Hospital and which he is willing to dispose of. He therefore recommends having it surveyed and the value estimated. He is further induced to recommend the purchasing this House as every Member of this Board must be fully sensible of the tediousness of erecting publick buildings and the extravagant charges attendant thereon. Ordered that the Chief Engineer, the Surgeons and Civil Architect do survey this House and report to us next Council day if it will admit of being converted into an Hospital, pointing out the Qualities it at present possesses, and the additions and alterations necessary to render it entirely convenient and useful for the purpose designed, and also form as nearly as possible an estimate of the expences that will attend the same."¹

We know Mr. Kiernander built the East and West blocks of the General Hospital, and that he converted the Garden House into the Centre Block. This extract goes to show that he was also the builder of the Garden House, and it helps us to arrive at an approximate idea of its age. Mr. Kiernander reached Calcutta in 1758, this Consultation was held in 1767, so the house must have been built some time during the intervening ten years.

The Civil Architect submitted a letter² stating that he had conferred with the Surgeons regarding the conversion of Mr. Kiernander's house into a hospital, also giving a plan and estimate of the same. The Board ordered a copy of this to be sent to the Committee of Works for their opinion, asking them "at what rate they can contract for the compleating the Building upon the Civil Architect's plan." I have failed to trace even a copy of the Civil Architect's letter, the original of which is supposed to be at the India Office, so I am unable to ascertain the names of the Surgeons referred to.

The Committee of Works³ reported that they had issued an advertisement "for contracting for the additional Buildings for making Mr. Kiernander's House an Hospital." They approved of Mr. Fortnum's estimate for the necessary materials.

¹ Public Proceedings, Volume for August to December 1767 at Consultation on 16th November 1767.

² Public Proceedings, Consultation of 9th February 1768.

³ Public Proceedings, Consultation of 22nd February 1768.

Next the Committee of Works informed the Board¹ that "in consequence of the notice they circulated for completing by contract the additional Buildings for the intended Hospital they had received proposals from the following persons—James Dallas and Domingo De Rosario, Goarchurn Tarsor, and the Revd. Mr. Kiernander and Mr. Martin Bantot,—which last falls short of the Civil Architect's estimate in the sum of A. Rs. 25,005-12-0, and they therefore recommended their being accepted." * * *

"Ordered that these letters, together with the several proposals be entered after the Consultation and that the Secretary inform the Committee of Works they may offer Mr. Kiernander the Sum of 98,000 rupees which is what our Civil Architect has valued it at and if he agrees to this, that they may then accept of his and Mr. Botant's (Bantot's) proposals to contract for completing the additional Buildings for making it an Hospital. But that they will please to adjust the Times of Payment somewhat in the following manner:—

"One-fifth of the Sum agreed upon when the foundation is laid,—One when the first Beams are laid,—Do, when the whole is covered in.—Do, when the whole is completed. And to annex a Penalty of 100,000 Rupees for the non-performance of the contract."

We get a confirmation of the proceedings of this Consultation of the 4th April 1768 in a letter² bearing the same date from the Board to the Court of Directors in London.

"65. In the 45th parag. of our General Letter under date 22 Feb., we had the Honor to inform you that we were then in hopes to acquaint you before the final dispatches of that season of our having fixed our choice of a place to build an Hospital upon. No conclusive measures were, however, agreed upon until the 4th April, when in Consultation of that date several proposals were laid before us and we accepted of those offered by the Rev. Mr. Kiernander and agreed to purchase a large strong new built house of his for 98,900 rupees from the conviction that the purchase of an Hospital ready built would turn out considerably cheaper than building one from the foundation, and as we have experienced that it is much cheaper to build by contract than any other method we entered into a contract with him for the completion of the necessary buildings to make this House convenient for the purposes of an Hospital, and we are convinced this will be not only the cheapest but the most expeditious way of completing a proper Hospital."

In passing we may glance at the offer made by Messrs. Dallas and Da Rozario. "Charges that will accrue on completing the Building on the

¹ Public Proceedings, Consultation of the 4th April 1768.

² Public Letters to Court of Directors, Volume for 1768-69, dated 4th April 1768.

Garden formerly Mr. Kiernander's conformable to the Plan intended for Barracks * * * "We now, therefore, give in our Proposals, * * * "We finding all materials, for A. Rs. 2,30,000, but look for such Indulgence as may be advantageous to us, and not detrimental to the Hon'ble Company.

JAMES DALLAS

DOMINGO DA ROZARIO.

At a Consultation held on the 25th April 1768¹ there were present the Hon'ble H. Verelst, Messrs. John Cartier, Richard Becher, James Alexander and William Aldersey. A letter from the Committee of Works was read and recorded. It stated that the Rev. Mr. Kiernander was prepared to accept the sum of 98,900 Arcot rupees for his Garden House, provided it was paid at once and some part of it in silver. Mr. Kiernander, however, stipulated that the payments for converting the Garden House into the Centre Block, and for the construction of the East and West Blocks, should be made as follows:—

"Two-fifths immediately, two-fifths when the second beams are laid, and the last fifth when the whole is covered in."

He consented to the penalty proposed for non-fulfilment of the contract, to pay cash for materials supplied by the Company, and "to compleat the whole in 2 years from the date of his contract." Mr. Kiernander asked for permission to live in the Garden House until the work was finished, in order that he might be on the spot to supervise the work.

The Board "Ordered that this letter be entered after the Consultation, and that the Secretary inform the Committee they may pay Mr. Kiernander the sum offered him for his House, but as he is indulged with an immediate payment, we shall not permit him to live in it until it is compleated, nor do we think it necessary since he has built a Bungalo so near that he may inspect the Works without any inconvenience. That we will, however, allow him to remain in the House as long as the Company have no use on the condition that he removes out when he thinks proper. That the different times of payment be fixed as he requires and one-third of the whole paid in Silver, but as it is necessary Mr. Kiernander should give security for the performance of his Contract they must insist on his engaging such persons as they may deem for this purpose."

On the 16th May, 1768,² there was another Consultation, at which Mr. Richard Becher was President. The members present were Colonel Richard Smith, James Alexander, Claud Russell, and William Aldersey.³ The Committee of Works reported that Mr. Kiernander acquiesced in the

¹ Public Proceedings, 25th April 1768.

² Public Proceedings, 16th May 1768.

³ Public Proceedings, Consultation of 25th April, 1768.

conditions of the contract, but that he submitted an address which they enclosed. The Board considered the latter's remarks "are not without foundation," that "meanwhile he is to begin upon the Works that no time may be lost," and they directed the first advance to be paid as stipulated. The Board "Ordered both these letters be entered after the Consultation and that the Secretary acquaint the Committee of Works in reply to theirs that they may conclude the contract with Mr. Kiernander as soon as they think proper, and that we shall make every reasonable allowance to that Gent^r. that may be hereafter required, for the circumstances he has represented to them. And although we have no objection to Mr. Kiernander's residing in the house in order to superintend the Works as long as we have no particular use for it, yet We must reserve to ourselves the power of appropriating it to any purpose we may think proper."

IV.—MR. KIERNANDER'S DIFFICULTIES.

To accomplish the task he had set himself in the stipulated time, Mr. Kiernander had to overcome many and great difficulties, which entailed the exercise of a Job-like patience, supplemented by an unconquerable will.

First, his partner in the contract withdrew and left him in the lurch, as we learn from the following extract:—"That tho' Mr. Bantot has declined taking a part in the additional buildings,¹ he will simply keep firm to the joint proposals first entered in."²

Next, owing to the prolonged negotiations on the part of the Council and of the Committee of Works, so much valuable time had been lost that but little remained for brick-making before the rains set in, consequently building operations would be delayed until the commencement of the succeeding cold weather. "Read the letter from Mr. Kiernander to the Committee of Works wherein he begs leave to remark that when he gave in his proposals for undertaking the additional buildings, he grounded his calculations upon his soon being able to make a sufficient quantity of bricks to supply the Works during the rainy season, but as above a month and a half is elapsed since that period, and little time now remains for making bricks, he will not have a sufficient quantity of that article to carry on the works which must, of course, be at a stand until the rains are over, and by that means render it more difficult for him to finish them within the stipulated time of two years. That his living in the house being made uncertain, whereby he might have had a constant eye over the workmen it will make a considerable difference to him, as they will not be so diligent as they otherwise would."³

¹ *I. e.*, the conversion of the Garden House, and the construction of the East and West Blocks.

² Mr. Kiernander.

³ Public Proceedings, Consultation of 16th May 1768.

This third point, however, cannot fairly be claimed in Mr. Kiernander's favour. The Company had purchased his house outright, and had paid for it promptly. From the outset they had refused his request to reside in the house until the end of the contract, and they had made it perfectly clear that his stay there was a concession terminable whenever it suited the Company to occupy their own property for any purpose.

From the Consultation of the 4th May 1772¹ we get a good idea of Mr. Kiernander's other embarrassments. The proceedings contain a very long petition from him, with copies of numerous letters to substantiate his statements. He laid particular stress on three more annoying obstacles which seriously hampered his work. "But in regard to the other particulars, of my coolies and workmen being pressed to work in the New Fort, the slow delivery and sometimes an entire absence of Chunam, the delay in payment of the third and fourth advance of money, contrary to the conditions of the contract, what will clearly appear from the following:—

"On the 18th July 1769, Mr. Kiernander wrote as follows to Mr. William Harwood, Clerk of the Hon'ble Committee of Works:—"Enclosed I send my bill for the third advance for the hospital, and beg the favour it may be signed. I should also be glad to have the ground lines for the foundation of the second office, which is intended for a cook-room, measured out, as soon as ever it is convenient to the Civil Architect, that I may begin with it, the sooner the better.

"As I have often, to my loss, and to the hinderance in the work had coolies and other workmen pressed to New Fort, and now my distant situation from the work causes many other delays, I request it as a favour, that the Hon'ble the Committee of Works would grant protection to those people who are employed at the hospital, that in particular, the Duffedars from the New Fort may not at their pleasure press away my people."

At the capture of Calcutta in 1756 many buildings were destroyed, and for a considerable time afterwards much reconstruction work was required both by private individuals as well as by the Company. It was considered urgently necessary to repair the defences of the town and fort; but masons, carpenters and coolies were not obtainable in sufficient numbers, owing to the higher rates of wages paid by private persons. Accordingly the Board was obliged to pass an order making it lawful to take artisans and labourers from private enterprises for the defensive works. Apparently this order had not been rescinded in 1772, so the "Duffedars from the New Fort" were acting quite within their rights, however unjust or inconvenient their proceedings may have appeared to individuals.

¹ Public Proceedings, Volume for January to June 1772. Mr. Kiernander's petition is dated the 1st May 1772.

Mr. Kiernander again addressed the same on the 3rd August 1769:—
 "As I have not yet been favoured with an answer to my last of July 18th I suppose the Civil Architect is much taken up with other works, and will, therefore, if he does not come, at the beginning of next week, myself measure and work out the foundation for the second office, which is designed for a kitchen. And in regard to my *Bill drawn for the third advance* I had expected that the payment would have been ordered, as I have already not only finished the second story on both wings, which is the condition of the contract for paying the third advance, but also brought up the third story on the West Wing even with the height of the door window frames, and will next week begin to make the arches. I beg to be favoured with your answer, and am," etc.

On the 10th August 1769 he showed his righteous indignation at the silent indifference with which his letters were treated by adopting a more formal style:—

"Mr. Kiernander presents his compliments to Mr. Harwood and begs he would be so good and get *this Bill for the Third Advance for building the New Hospital signed* as he has an absolute occasion for it."

Again he returned to the charge on the 16th August 1769 with the following letter:—

"I find myself at present in such circumstances relating to the contract for building the New Hospitals as I judge necessary should be laid before the Hon'ble the Committee of Works."

"On the 8th day of July I had finished the second story on both the wings which in the contract is the condition of having the third payment advanced me. However I did not draw the Bill for it till the 18th when I had already the door and window frames for the third story of the West Wing *and notwithstanding till this day I have received no order for the payment of the said Third Advance*. I have yet gone on with the work, and brought up the said third story as far as almost now to have finished all the arches over the doors and windows.

"And as *now no Chunam is to be had as you'll please to observe by Mr. Lacam's*" Chitt of yesterday's date hereby inclosed, *I am at a stand with the work*. I made my indent for 1,000 maunds Chunam on the 4th of the month, whilst I had yet somewhat in store, but as upon this indent, I have since received no more than 175 maunds, all is worked up. *Now besides the loss of time, another very great inconveniency is, that I must either keep my*

* [It was Lacam who went to meet France on his first arrival to supply that worthy with information to support an attack on Hastings. Lacam is associated with Dr. Tysot Saul Hancock in a scheme for the reclamation of Sauger. EDITOR.]

Bricklayers in pay, without employing them, or if I dismiss them, and they engage in other service, how difficult will it be for me to gett them back when I want them.

"And from these circumstances it will appear, that the delay in the work does not proceed from any neglect of mine, and beg that these circumstances will be taken into consideration. Please to favour me with a line, acknowledging the receipt of this, and you will oblige," etc.

Mr. Lacam merely stated that there was no Chunam available, and that some would be supplied from the first boat that arrived. This supply of lime might possibly have come from Bankura, which was the nearest available source, *via* the Dhalkisor and Rupnarain rivers; because Bankura was ceded to the Company in 1760, and because the Dhalkisor was navigable for native craft during the rainy season, at which time Mr. Lacam's note was written—15th August. But it is also possible that the lime referred to was Sylhet lime, and came from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, which contain inexhaustible beds of limestone. Sir W. W. Hunter states that "from time immemorial a large part of the supply of Bengal has been derived from this source."¹

On the 24th August 1779 Mr. Kiernander once more addressed Mr. Harwood:—"Being informed that now Chunam is arrived and that probably to-day some may be delivered to me I should now be able to collect my people again, and sett about to continue the work at the New Hospital, if I was but supplied with money. *But as the Treasury Banyan has not yet paid the Third Advance, nor any part of it,* and by what he saith very likely will not for some time longer, I am under necessity to request you would represent this to the Hon'ble the Committee of Works, and procure their orders for this payment, as without money it is impossible for me to forward the work. I wait your answer and am," etc.

In his representation to the Council Mr. Kiernander goes on to state:—
Aug. 31st. Upon this I was told that orders were given to the Treasury Banyan, but he pretended not to have any cash and I wait till August 31st when I received a small sum in part.

"9th September. Another small sum in part.

"15th September. Another do, do.

"21st September. The remaining Balance of the Third Advance.

"By this long delay of delivery of Chunam and want of Cash, the whole work was at a stand a considerable time.

"The Fourth and last advance of Money was also protracted near a whole month after it was due by contract."

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 348.

It would seem that Mr. Kiernander did not appreciate or did not approve of the practice of *bakshish*, otherwise the banyan's payments and the delivery of lime might have been more prompt.

Apparently Mr. Palmer took the place of Mr. Harwood as Clerk to the Committee of Works, for the next two letters were addressed to him. The first bore the date of the 15th December 1769 :—

"The Whole of the New Hospital being covered in, I have agreeably to the Tenor of the Contract drawn my bill for the last advance and beg you will present it to the Hon'ble the Committee of Works, for to obtain their order for the payment, having now an immediate want of it."

The second letter was dated the 8th January, 1770 : "Having had no answer as yet to the contents of my last Letter, nor received order for the payment of the last advance for the Hospital buildings, for which I send you a bill dated the 15th December last,—

"I now beg leave to inform you that having advanced a considerable sum of my own cash for the advancing of the said building much further than the contract obliges me, I being out of cash, can proceed no further till payment is made and am *very sorry that now a second time the work must be at an entire stop.*"

He continued to the Council :—"13th January 1770. I at last received payment of the fourth and last advance, and then began the work again. No. 2. The last indent I made for 300 maunds of Chunam on 25th April 1770 signed by the Store-keeper Francis Hare, Esq., is laid hereby in original but was never delivered and marked No. 2."

Then follows a letter to Mr. Hare, dated the 3rd May 1770 :—"The indent I made 25th April for 300 maunds of Chunam, you have been pleased to sign and order the delivery, but *as yet I have not received any*, and am told to-day from the New Fort that none can be spared, *being to-day the sixth day that the works at the New Hospital for want of Chunam is entirely at a stand*, such stopping and delaying the work is of the greatest prejudice to me, and in this manner shall not be able to finish my work, within the limited time of the contract. As I fancy 300 maunds of Chunam will be all I shall want for to finish the whole, if you give me leave to procure that quantity myself, I will do my best endeavours towards getting it, if possible that so I may finish my work, which I shall be glad to be discharged from in due time."

On the same day Mr. Hare replied that if Mr. Kiernander will tell his Sircar where the Chunam can be purchased he will pass immediate orders for its delivery at the Hospital. Mr. Kiernander's rejoinder was :—"No. 3, 5th May 1770. I have agreeable to your request made an inquiry for Chunam, and find that a Chunam Merchant Pawnshoo has got about 300 maunds of

good Chunam at Bahlighott, he asks 75 A Rs. per 100 maunds and a Permitt Chitt."

On the 7th May 1770 Mr. Kiernander wrote in despair to Mr. Hare as follows:—"I am this day informed that your Circular, *contrary to your order has carried those 300 maunds Chunam to the New Fort*, of which agreeably to your request, I gave you information some days ago, and I have not yet got any for the Hospital Works. And he sends me words of such contents, that I cannot mention to you now. The prejudice and loss it is to me, that the Hospital Work is now so long at an entire stand, you cannot but be sensible of. Sorry I am, that being now come so near to an end with the work, which I had hopes of finishing a month before the limits of my contract was at an end I must now find myself thus Disappointed and ill used."

He then resumed his petition:—"After this I waited still several days, but I waited in vain for Chunam, and I waited in vain for a further answer.

"Upon this I resolved to take my own Chunam from the Church, for to compleat the Hospital. The first House, or Center Building was delivered up and taken possession of 20th June, 1769, being 12 Months less 7 Days before the Limited time of the Contract. The West Wing was begun to be inhabited by the sick people, 2nd April 1770, and the East Wing on 2nd June by the new recruits. 13th June 1770 was the last day of my two years' contract.

"I will allow that Chunam was sometimes scarce, and that perhaps there was sometime no money in the treasury. Nevertheless the hinderance and prejudice to me in the work was equally the same, and I had reasonably expected the Hon'ble the President and Council, to allow all those from the beginning mentioned particulars their due weight. And although the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, Esqre, then Governor, when that promise was given me, was no more in India, yet I never doubted but what such a public and solemn engagement and promise by the Hon'ble the President and Council, would at all times, and by the Hon'ble Successors be of equal force. I will also leave it to the equitable consideration of the Hon'ble the President and Council, whether the interest of 8 per cent. upon the mentioned sum which I have advanced of my own cash is not justly due to me from 13th June 1770.

I remain, with esteem,

"Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your Honor's most obedient and most humble servant,

"JOHN ZACK KIERNANDER."

At the Consultation of the 4th May 1772 there was a new Board that "knew not" Zachariah. The President was now the Hon'ble Warren

¹ The thirteenth anniversary of the Black Hole atrocity.

Hastings and only Mr. William Aldersey remained of the old members. The others were Messrs. Phillip M. Dacres, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell, James Harris, James Laurell, Henry Goodwin and John Graham. They sent a long letter in reply, bearing the same date, through their Secretary, Mr. W. Wynne, from which the following extracts are quoted :—

"They are of opinion you have not produced any proofs which may be looked upon as authentic, they not appearing to stand upon record, excepting your assertion of the promise given you by the Board

"As from these circumstances it appears to the Board that your claim for a compensation for removing from the house before the contract was expired is void of right, they cannot allow it any force but must reject it, and as you made no application to the Board at the time concerning the want of materials and the late payment of your bills, they cannot now be admitted when not a member of the then Board is at present in Bengal; as this is the Board's final resolution and answer they can only repeat it in reply to any further applications on this subject."

D. M. MOIR.



The Chandernagore Papers.

Instalment No. 3.

97.

1781. O. C. 1ST FEBRUARY. NO. 3.

List of French Inhabitants of Chandernagore permitted to remain within the Province.

Messrs.—Nicolas Senr.

Desgranges.

De Brétel.

Breu.

Fournier.

Voire.

Lannison.

Gallois.

Gulliard.

Texeira.

Motel.

Pannon.

Chambon Senr.

Messrs.—Mille.

Savray.

Herigoyen.

L'Etant.

Dumoulin.

Duplessis Senr.

Duplessis Jr.

Ernest.

Savray Jr.

Jacques Floe.

Lannison Jr.

L'Abbe Russac.

Père Francois.

98.

1781. O. C. 1ST FEBRUARY. NO. 4.

A list of Frenchmen to be confined in the upper apartments of the new building lately erected for a jail.

Messrs.—Culan.

Nicholai de Calnois.

Deverrinez.

Des Marchais.

Fouquet de Champigny.

Laval.

Giblot.

Champanac.

Filon.

Desrauches.

Dapare.

Dumoulin.

Nicola de Gevoines.

Anneau Sr.

Nicola de la Merliere.

Le Gore.

Messrs.—Labat.

Chambon Jr.

Calvé.

Farrie.

Anneau Jr.

Darand.

Macaffry.

Le Seigneur.

Bedes.

Virié.

Serron Messis.

De Solminhac.

Aussant.

E. Strother.

De la Coux.

99

1781. O. C. 1ST FEBRUARY. NO. 5.

A list of French who are to be confined in the lower room of the new building lately erected for a jail.

Messrs.—Bonquet.	Messrs.—Morel.
Compoint.	Jacob.
David.	Jean Jacques Cavet.
L'Himas.	Chautet.
Fromont.	Gauvin.
Padet.	Ernest.
Peltier.	St. Para.
Aussant.	Farret.
Delmas.	Puget.
LeLoog.	Chenneau.
Bonneau.	Le Roy.
Trouche.	Jean Roderique.
J. Rhio.	Bonnaventure Martin.
Laurent Morel.	Ducros.
La Fortune.	Le Goff.
Siben.	Cherbonneau.
Versailles.	
Verron.	

100

1781. O. C. 12TH FEBRUARY. NO. 42.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., COUNCIL,
FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I request you will be pleased to give orders that the new Gaol be delivered over to me, that the Prisoners may be removed as soon as possible from the old one, which is in too ruinous a state to be longer occupied in safety.

I beg leave to represent to the Hon'ble Board that the Jemaudars Guard of thirty-five sepoy's, the number at present allotted, are insufficient for the due guarding of the new Gaol, which being of much greater Extent than the old one, will require full as many more. A Guard room without the door will be also necessary for the accommodation of the Sepoy's.

CALCUTTA,
5th February 1781.

I have the honour to be,
with great Respect,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs
Your most obedient and humble
Servant,
HERBERT HARRIS,
Sheriff.

101

1781. O. C. 6TH MARCH. NO. 29.

TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In consequence of an intimation from your Secretary that you wanted my report upon the new Jail, before you would issue your definitive orders respecting the French, I now



Chander nagore : The *Tala Phatak* or *Port Lion* on the Grand Trunk Road, leading towards Chinsura.
Photo: D. N. Karmakar. Kindly supplied by Charu Chandra Ray.



The Convent Chapel, Chander nagore.
Photo, supplied by Charu Chandra Ray.

have the pleasure to acquaint you that the upper rooms are perfectly dry and ready for their reception, and that the lower apartments are rendered by constant fires as free from damp, as the time would admit of, but are not quite as dry as the upper rooms, however I think the prisoners may be lodged in the Jail without any risk.

I remain, etc.,
A. MOLONY,
Comy.

CHANDERNAGORE,
2nd March 1781.

102.

1781. O.C. 13TH MARCH. No. 8.

CHANDERNAGORE :
10th March 1781.

TO EDWARD HAY, ESQ.,
Secretary.

SIR,

I have received the order of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council transmitted by you the 6th instant, in consequence of which I have this day sent to Calcutta under charge of an European officer, with a guard of one subedar, one jemedar, two havildars, two naibs, and forty sepoy, such of the Frenchmen mentioned in the list No. 1 which were to be found in Chandernagore. I send accompanying this a copy of the list No. 1, in which I have marked such as are sent down, those that are not, mentioning where they are, from the information I have received. I beg leave to recommend Monsr. Labet (whose name is in the list of those sent down) as a person aged, infirm and born in the country. I send enclosed a protest given me by Monsr. Nicholas De Calnois against being made prisoner, which I request you will do me the favour to lay before the Board.

I am, etc.,
CHARLES CHATFIELD,
Captain, Commanding Chandernagore.

103.

No 1.

1781. O.C. 13TH MARCH. No. 9.

List of French to be sent down to Calcutta.

Messrs.—Culan	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
Nicholas de Calnois	...	...	Do.
Deverinnes	...	...	Do.
Desmarchais	...	...	Do.
Fouquet de Champigny	...	...	Went away last month with a passport.
Laval	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
Giblot	...	...	Do.
Champanac	...	...	Do.
Pilon	...	...	Not found.
Desrauches	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
Dupure	...	...	Do.
Dumoulin	...	...	Do.
Nicholas De Gevoines	...	...	Do.

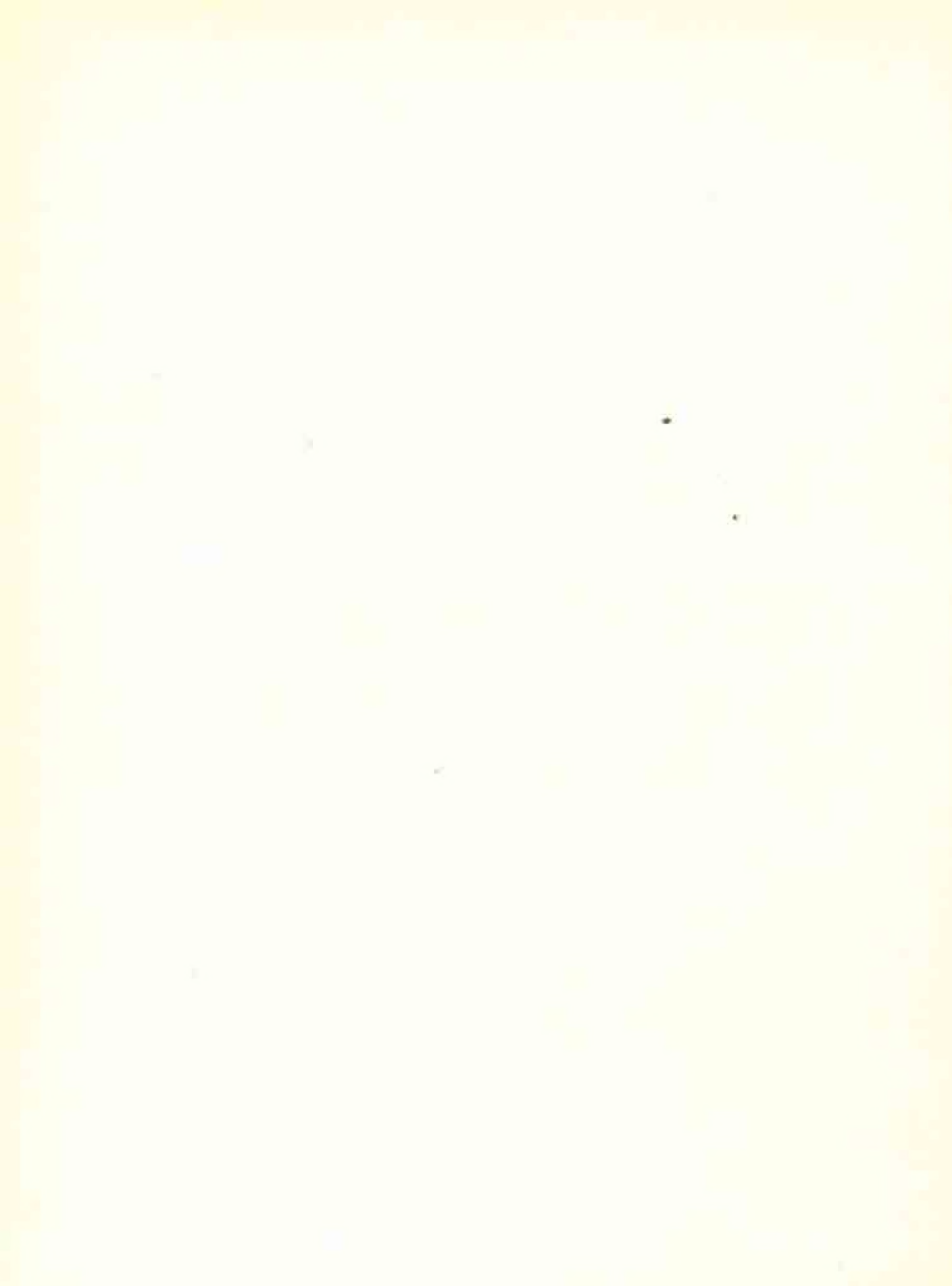
Messrs.—Anneau, Jr.	...	...	Said to be in Calcutta.
Nicholas De Merliere	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
Le Gore...	...	...	Do.
Labat ...	...	...	Do.
Chambon, Jr.	...	...	At Serampore.
Calvé ...	...	...	Do.
Farrie ...	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
Anneau, Jr.	...	...	Do.
Durand...	...	...	Do.
Maccaffry	...	...	At Chinsura.
Le Seigneur	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
Bedes ...	...	...	Do.
Verlee	...	...	Said to be at Calcutta.
Serron Messis	...	...	Sent down to Calcutta.
De Solminihac	...	...	Do.
Aussant	...	...	Do.
E. Strother	...	...	Not found.
De la Cour	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Bouquet	...	...	At Chinsura.
Compoint	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
David	...	...	Escaped in the night from the stry.
L'Himas	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Fromont	...	...	Do.
Padet	...	...	Do.
Peltier	...	...	At Chinsura.
Delmas	...	...	Do.
Le Long	...	...	Do.
Bonneau	...	...	Do.
Trouche	...	...	Do.
J. Rhio	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Laurent Morel	...	...	Said to have run away from Kompoor.
La Fortune	...	...	Do.
Siben ...	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Versailles	...	...	Do.
Verron	...	...	Do.
Morel ...	...	...	Do.
Jacob ...	...	...	Gardiner at Ghyretty.
Jean Jacques Cavet	...	...	Said to be in Calcutta.
Chaulet	...	...	At Serampore.
Gauvin	...	...	Do.
Ernest	...	...	Do.
St. Pare	...	...	His name is Gallois St. Pare and released as the name Gallois is in the List No. 2.
Farret	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Puget	...	...	Do.
Chenneau	...	...	Do.
Le Roy	...	...	Do.



The Octagonal Building in a Moated Garden on the North of Chandernagore, called the *Tant Khana*.

It is said to have been Clive's base of operations in 1757.

Photo. D. N. Karmakar. Kindly supplied by Charn Chandra Ray.



Messrs.—Jean Roderique	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Bonnaventure Martin	...	...	Said to be in Calcutta in Colonel Watson's Service.
Dueros	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.
Le Goss (Goss ?)	...	...	At Serampore.
Cherbonneau	...	...	Sent to Calcutta.

CHAS. CHATFIELD,
Captain,
Commanding at Chandernagore.

104.

1781. O.C. 13TH MARCH. NO. 10.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your order through your Secretary of the 6th instant in consequence of which I attended at the house allotted for the confinement of the French prisoners upon the 10th instant being the day of their arrival at the Presidency, and saw that they were properly accommodated, and their situation rendered as easy as the nature of circumstances would admit.

Accompanying you will receive three Lists: No. 2 and No. 3 contain the names of those people of the French Nation who have been delivered over by an Officer of Captain Chatfield's Regiment to Mr. Joys, the Keeper of the Jail, and No. 1 the names of those who have not as yet arrived.

Herewith I have the honor likewise to forward you a petition from those persons who are confined in the lower apartments of the new Building lately erected for a jail.

As the people who have signed the petition have refused to receive from me the sum of ten Sonaut Rupees each, which I tendered to them as their monthly allowance for March, agreeable to your orders of the 6th instant, and as they may be reduced to a very deplorable situation from a Resolution which they have formed, of not receiving any money from me as Commissary, till you have been pleased to return some answer to their Petition, I request, Gentlemen, that you will direct your Secretary to favor me with an early reply.

I remain, etc.,
 A. MOLONY,
Commissary.

CALCUTTA,
 12th March 1781.

105.

1781. O.C. 13TH MARCH. NO. 11.

No. 1.

A list of French prisoners who were order'd to be sent from Chandernagore, but who have not yet arrived at the Presidency:—

Messrs.—Pilon.
 Anneau Sr.
 Chambon Jr.
 Calix.
 5. Fouquet de Champigny.
 Macaffy.

Messrs.—Bonneau.
 Tronche.
 15. Laurent Morel.
 La Fortune.
 Jean Jacques Cavet
 Chaulet.

Messrs.—Verd*

E. Strother.
 Bouquet.
 10. David.
 Peltier.
 Delmas.

Messrs.—Gauvin

12. Ernest.
 St. Père.
 Bonnaventure Martin.
 Le Goff.

106.

1781. O.C. 13TH MARCH. NO. 12.

No. 2.

A list of French prisoners confined in the upper apartments of the new building lately erected for a jail.

Messrs.—Culan.

Nicolas de Calnois.
 Deverrines.
 Des Marchais.
 5. Laval.
 Giblot.
 Champanac.
 Desrauches.
 Dapare.
 10. Dumoulin.
 Nicola de Gervaines.

Messrs.—Nicola de Merliere.

Le Gore.
 Labat.
 15. Parrie.
 Anneau Jr.
 Durand.
 Le Seignen.
 Bides.
 10. Serron Messia.
 De Solminihac.
 Aussant.
 De la Cour.

107.

1781. O.C. 13TH MARCH. NO. 13.

No. 3.

A list of French prisoners confined in the lower apartments of the new building lately erected for a jail.

Messrs.—Compont.

L'Himas.
 Fromont.
 4. Padet.
 J. Rhio.
 Siben.
 Versailles.
 8. Verron.

Messrs.—Morel.

Farret.
 Puget.
 12. Cheuneau.
 Le Roy.
 Jean Roderique.
 Ducros.
 16. Cherbonneau.

108.

1781. O.C. 14TH APRIL. NO. 10.

RESOLVED that the French prisoners, whose names appear in the accompanying list, be sent to England in the two ships under despatch, and that the following orders be issued regarding them.

* The Father of Madame Grand.



Gold Medal awarded to Indra Narayana Chowdhury by the French East India Company, with the Effigy of Louis XV and the Arms of the Company.

Photo. supplied by Charu Chandra Ritz.

1. That the prisoners to go to England be allowed to take their families with them, if they think proper, acquainting the Commissary with the names of the persons accompanying them, that the same may be notified by the Commissary to the Secretary, for the information of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and of the Captains of the ships.

2. That they be allowed to take with them the necessaries for a sea voyage.

3. That they mess with each other agreeable to their ranks,—that those who are of the rank of gentlemen be treated accordingly, and accommodated with cabins as well as the Captains can furnish them and that those of the lower class be lodged in the steerage, or if any of such class be seamen with the seamen of the ship.

4. Sums to be allowed to the Captains for the accommodation of each prisoner of the higher class be settled with them by the Secretary, and that they be allowed for those of the lower class whom they take home the same term that is established by the Hon'ble Court of Directors agreeable to the terms of Charter Party.

ORDERED that the Commissary be informed of the Board's Resolution and directed to notify it to the French prisoners, acquainting them also that the ships will be dispatched about the 30th instant.

ORDERED that the Commissary do furnish the Secretary with two lists, the one specifying those of the number to be sent to Europe who are the rank of gentlemen, the other those of the lower class.

ORDERED that the Secretary do transmit these lists, when he receives them, to the Commanders of the ships *Neptune* and *Bellefont*, inform them of the Board's resolution and direct them to comply with it, half the French of the rank of gentlemen and half of the lower class being to be embarked on one ship and other half of both orders on the other.

ORDERED that the Captains be directed to show every attention to the prisoners on the voyage to England, considering them at the same time always, as prisoners and under their especial charge, from which they must not be permitted to escape—that on the arrival of the ships at any port in England they acquaint the Hon'ble Company with the number of prisoners in their respective ships and receive their orders for their guidance regarding them.

109

1781. O.C. 14TH APRIL. NO. 11.

A list of the French prisoners to be sent to Europe.

Messrs.—Culan.

Dapare.

Dumoulin.

Champanac.

Giblot.

Desrauches.

Aussant.

Serron Messis.

Pelon.

Le Goff.

Durand.

Padet.

Compoin.

Messrs.—Siben.

Tronche.

J. Rhio.

Joseph Chayinauve.

Morel.

Pilots.

Favlet.

Puget.

Chenneas.

Le Roy.

Ducros.

Cherbonneau.

II.

1781. O.C. 27TH APRIL. NO. 11.

List of the French of the higher class to be sent to Europe.

Messrs.—Culan.

Duparc.

Dumoulin.

Champagne.

Giblot.

Desrauches.

Serron Messis.

Pilon.

Le Gore.

List of the French of the lower class to be sent to Europe.

Mons. Trouche.

J. Rhio.

Verron.

Farrel.

Chenneau.

Ducros.

Cherbonneau.

Gallaum Bijourda.

III.

1781. O.C. 14TH JUNE. NO. 21.

FORT WILLIAM,
13th June 1781.

HONBLE SIR AND SIRs,

Enclosed I have the honour to forward you Mr. Charles Allen's report upon the state of Monsieur Chinnear's health.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to represent to you the danger to which the French prisoners in general will be exposed should they be continued in the new gaol during the time of the rains. The windows of this building are so constructed as to admit (even when closed) the rain, without any channel whatsoever to carry off the water; so that the prisoners, after having excluded the air, will hardly be able to keep the rooms tolerably dry. I need not point out to you the consequences of this situation, but beg leave to recommend it to your consideration, and am, etc.

A. MOLONY,
Commissary.

112.

1781. O.C. 16TH JULY. No. 31.

List of French Widows of Chandernagore of the first class who received monthly the sum opposite their names.

De Vandore				A. Rs. 50
Rauzy				50
Warner				50
Ferlus				50
Mabille				50
Mergrac				50
Le Conte				50
				A. Rs. 350

List of the second class who received monthly the sum opposite each of their names.

Robert				A. Rs. 20
Ledain				15
Lahorre				15
St. Prix				8
Petit Jean				8
Thern				8
Vedro				8
Laurent				10
Jean Val				10
Bourneuf				10
Michel				10
Gomise				8
St. Victor				15
Gaspard				10
Rostan				20
Jore				20
				A. Rs. 195

No. 3. List of such as have become widows since June 1780, or who have never received any allowance.

Desgranges.
Champigny
Lachiney.

No. 4. List of French Ladies whose husbands are in Europe.

De Carrion.
Sinfray.
Bonneton
Chaillet.

113.

1781. O.C. 16TH JULY. NO. 24.

CALCUTTA,
5th July 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I beg leave to inform you that Mr. John Joys, the Keeper of the French Prison, has requested permission to resign his office, and begs that you will be pleased to appoint some other person to take charge of it from him.

I request that you will direct your Secretary to inform me whether it is the intention of your Hon'ble Board to continue a monthly allowance to such of the French nation as you have thought proper to release from confinement.

Enclos'd I have the honor to forward you a letter from the wife of Monsieur Sibind and am, *etc.*

A. MOLONY,
Commissary.

114.

1781. O.C. 16TH JULY. NO. 25.

CALCUTTA,
13th July 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

In consequence of a second application to me from Mr. John Joys, Kepper (*sic*) of the French Prison; to be relieved from the duties of his office, I request that you will be pleased to appoint some person to take charge of it from him, and take the liberty of recommending Mr. Robert Bancroft as a proper person for that office.

I am, *etc.*,
A. MOLONY,
Commissary.

115.

1781. O.C. 4TH SEPTEMBER.

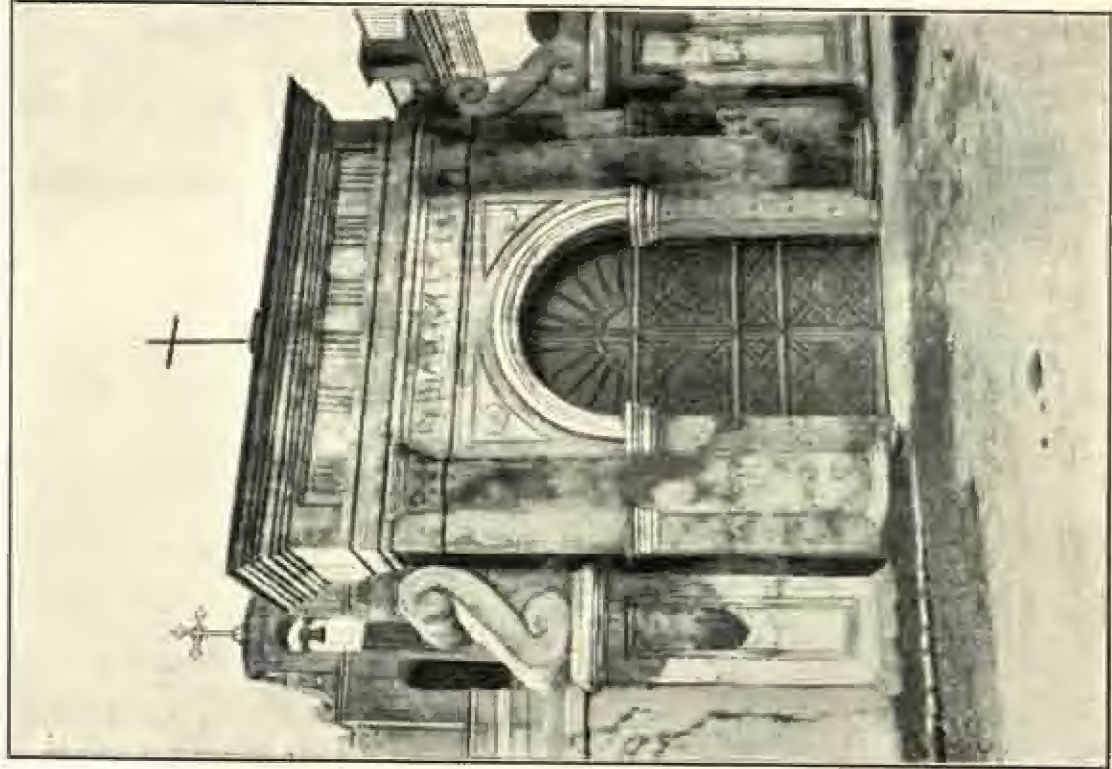
NEW PRISON,
22nd August 1781.

SIR,

Mr. Hammel made his escape last night from the Prison. The centrys who had charge of him, in the course of the night, left the guard before it was found out that he was gone. I myself saw him at eight o'clock last night, and gave the centry orders to take care that he did not go out of his room without he attended him. It will be necessary to have the two windows, one of which is in the cook room next the south wall and the other in the necessary house next the north wall stopped, as it is most probable he was assisted by one of them in getting away. A description of him will, I suppose, be necessary in order that he may be apprehended. The best I can give of him is that he is about five feet six inches high, a full face, florid complexion, which is apparently owing to excessive drinking, and wears his own hair short and curled. He had on a striped waistcoat and breeches.

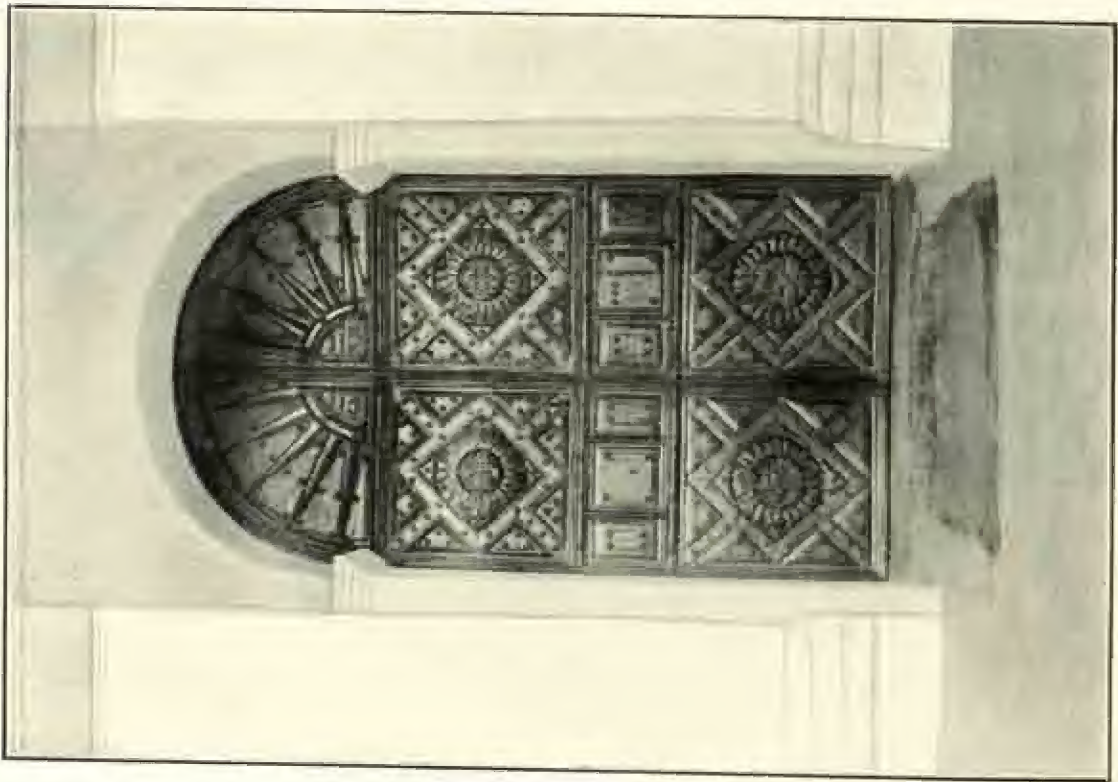
I am, *etc.*,
ROBERT BANCROFT.





The Main Gate of the Convent Chapel, opening on the Quai Duplex,
bearing the inscription 'D. et B. M. V. Lauretanae.'

Photo. H. L. Mukerjee. Kindly supplied by Charni Church Society.



The Door of the Convent Chapel, bearing the date A. D. 1730,
and the sign of the Franciscan Friars—the Crossed Arms.

116.

1781. O.C. 37TH OCTOBER. No. 17.

A List of French Prisoners.

1st Class—

Messrs.	
Delaval.	} All men of good character particularly Monsieur Delaval.
Givennes.	
Durand.	
Arreau.	
Delacour.	
Aussant.	A man of doubtful character, of some abilities, but not troublesome.

2nd Class—

Puget.	} Pilots. Nothing particularly good or particularly bad in their characters.
Farret.	
Rodigen.	
Le Roy.	
Compoint.	} Men whose tempers have been sour'd by confinement and who frequently express themselves in bitter terms against the English; in other respects men of good characters.
Motel.	
Fromont.	} Moderate men.
Versailles.	
Rhio.	
Vernon.	Old.
Stewart.	} Quiet people.
Riparet.	
Maddock.	

A. M.
Company.

117.

1781. P. 1638-1639. O.C. 3TH NOVEMBER. No. 15.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I have the honour to inform you that, agreeable to your orders of the 27th October, I have released all the French prisoners from confinement and taken their paroles.

I request your instructions upon the subject of their subsistence money, whether it is your intention that it should be continued to them or not, and I beg leave to observe that there are many objects amongst them, whose situations render them worthy of this indulgence; in this number are Pilots and others who being restrained from their occupations, are deprived of the only means they had of procuring a livelihood, and are reduced to a state of absolute indigence. Should it be your determination to extend your bounty

to a few and not to all, I request I may be vested with a discretionary power to and continue it to such as are in real distress : this power shall not be abused.

I likewise request to be informed into whose charge the keeper is to deliver the new prison and whether the keeper is to be dismissed.

I remain, etc.,
A. MOLOKY,
Commissary.

CALCUTTA,
4th November 1781.

118.

1781. O.C. 19TH NOVEMBER. No. 2.

*Return of Prisoners to be embarked for Bengal on Board the "Dartmouth" and
"Resolution," Indiamen. Fort St. George, 17th October 1781.*

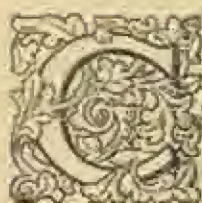
Ship.	Names.	Station.	Country.	Remarks.
	M. Pullan.	Lieut.-Col.	France.	Came from Bengal in the <i>Rochford</i> .
	Mons. Compignac.	Civilian.	do.	do.
	M. Bodenschât.	Captain in the Dutch Service.	Germany.	Taken in a Dutch Indiaman for Saladana Bay, by Commodore Johnson's squadron.
	M. Gibbot.	Civilian.		
	M. Dapore and son.	Mariner officer.		Came from Bengal in the <i>Rochford</i> .

JAMES HUNYREATE,
Secretary.



Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse.

PART III—(*Continued and Concluded.*)



COLONEL PEARSE became so seriously unwell during the latter part of the month that he obtained leave of absence from Sir Eyre Coote, and purposed to return to Bengal, with the hope, by his presence, of obtaining a settlement of his accounts, and the restoration of his allowances, and probably to avoid excessive mortification; as Sir E. Coote, notwithstanding he had intimated to Colonel Pearse that *arrangements might be made, which would be more accordant to his prospects*, had solicited the return to camp of General Stuart and Colonel Lang, and had thus again deprived Colonel Pearse of all command.

It appears that the Court of Directors had sent out orders that their Artillery Officers were not to hold Staff commands: the illiberality and impolicy of which act can hardly require to be commented upon.

Mr. Hastings also, by his neglect in not returning any answers to Colonel Pearse's frequent letters, had increased the anxiety of his mind to such a degree that the consciousness of not having deserved such wanton neglect could alone have supported him. To Mr. Hastings Colonel Pearse looked for support, but he was so much hurt by his silence, that he came to the resolution of not forwarding another line to him, unsolicited on his part: and he addressed a set of questions to a particular friend in Calcutta, (a Mr. Keble) to be shown to Mr. Hastings, demanding answers to them.

These were:

1. "Whether Mr. Hastings has received my letters of the following dates, 2nd, 8th, 11th, 16th, 20th and 27th December; also, the 4th, 19th and 22nd January?"
2. "Whether he has been pleased to take my case under consideration, and whether anything has been done in consequence?"
3. "What act of mine has offended him?—From not obtaining relief, I conclude that some part of my conduct, whilst I was in command, was exceptionable."
4. "What part of my conduct was so?"
5. "Whether I am to continue to serve on the Coast, or to be recalled?"

6. "If to serve—in what capacity am I to be continued on this service, and with what allowances?"

7. "If to be recalled—whether the orders is passed and sent, or not?"

On the 29th of April, intelligence of the conclusion of peace with the Marhattas was announced at Madras, to the great joy of the British inhabitants. Colonel Pearse returned to Bengal in May: as his friend Mr. Petrie, who had arrived at Madras in his way to England, found it necessary to return to Calcutta. On his arrival in Bengal, Colonel Pearse found that Mr. Hastings was still his warm friend, and he promised all his interest, "public and private," to endeavour to settle matters to Colonel Pearse's satisfaction.

After having effected the principal object of his voyage, the settlement of his accounts, and finding his health greatly re-established, Colonel Pearse set out on his return to Madras. He sailed from the Hooghly in a snow, in charge of 20,000 pagodas, with which he was directed to land at Ganjam; he reached that place on the 31st of August 1782, and after some unavoidable detentions, proceeded by land, with the money in charge. On the 25th of October, Colonel Pearse was at Masulipatam; on the 16th November at Ongole; on the 25th at Nellore; and on the 5th of December, he arrived at the Mount.

During Colonel Pearse's absence, nothing effectual had been accomplished by the Army in the Carnatic; but some very important changes and events had taken place. Madras had been visited with a dreadful famine, and thousands of the wretched inhabitants of the Carnatic, who had fled for protection to the British flag, perished from absolute hunger. A violent storm had destroyed the shipping in the roads, and the British at Madras were under the awful alarm of being cut off from all supplies by sea. Sir Eyre Coote, completely worn down by sickness, having suffered two paralytic attacks, had sailed for Bengal, leaving the command to General Stuart, whose well-known disputes with the Government of Madras had now commenced.

Colonel Pearse, on rejoining the Army, was declared in orders, "second in command." The welcome intelligence of the death of Hyder Ali, the inveterate and formidable foe of the British, was received during this month. Hyder died at Chittore at the advanced age of 86 years. General Stuart would not avail himself of this favourable opportunity for striking a formidable blow with the Army, but remained, in obstinate opposition to the earnest entreaties and absolute commands of Lord Macartney, *in a state of inactivity*, disputing the right of any controlling power in the Company's Civil or Military Officers over those of His Majesty.

Tippoo Sahib, availing himself of this supineness, arrived at Chittore, and securely seated himself in his deceased father's authority.

In February, however, General Stuart moved with the Army towards Wandewash and Carangoly, and withdrawing the garrisons from them destroyed both places, it being considered impossible to retain them. The able and successful operations of General Mathews, just at this time, on the Malabar Coast, attracted Tippoo Sahib's sole attention; and he allowed the British Army to move without any molestation to Vellore, retreating before it. On the 5th of March Colonel Pearse writes to Admiral Mann as follows:—

TO ADMIRAL MANN.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I got to Madras from Bengal in December. We are just returned from an expedition to Wandewash, which we destroyed, and brought away its garrison; in the same trip we destroyed Carangoly, so that of all our possessions in the Carnatic, only Vellore remains out of the limits of the Jagheer; and within them, only Trippasore, Chingleput, Poonamallee, and Madras. But do not think we are therefore ruined: one brisk campaign will put all to rights. If I could get hold of the command now, I could be master of the whole in six weeks time; but under Coote or Stuart, we shall never do more than *creep from one hole to another*, to feed garrisons, or to destroy them. We are now going to supply Vellore with grain again. I wish it may turn out as much to my honour as the trip in January 1782. I am now second in command, and Stuart is so mutilated, that I must have very considerable share in any action; though I am of opinion there will not be any.—For first, we know Tippoo is treating, and he has reason enough for so doing. His own country is invaded, and the capital of his richest province is taken by General Mathews; and what is most extraordinary, he has taken five mil of the line, which seems in part, though not quite finished; and he now intends going against Mangalore, Tippoo's grand post, and as we do not doubt of his succeeding, (for he is a most able and enterprising officer) this will so far overthrow Tippoo, that he will be under the necessity of making peace *on any terms*."

"My dear Friend, I have been most cruelly used by General Coote in his dispatches to Europe, he has most basely attributed all his successes to Captain Owen, *called Lieutenant-Colonel*, and begged His Majesty to make him a Colonel, and the King has done so. He wrote me a letter, most highly complimentary on my conduct in saving his convoy, and securing success to the expedition to Vellore; yet he did not even mention me in his dispatches, and I am not promoted. If we meet, I must now submit to be commanded by a Captain of the Madras establishment, *who has hitherto failed in everything he has undertaken, as this whole army will bear testimony*. Owen was rewarded with a profusion of thanks for being defeated and escaping being cut to pieces; and he owed that good fortune to the exertion of Captain Moore, who at the head of 50 Bengal Grenadiers, retook a gun which the enemy had taken, and covered the retreat of the detachment; *and what ought to be noticed*, the foe had time enough to have sent off the whole of his baggage, and to have taken so strong a post, that nothing but an army of Europeans could have dislodged him. In this state, it behoves me to struggle hard. Mr. Hastings has assured me of his whole interest, public and private. Lord Macartney has made honourable mention of me in his letters in his connections; and I hope if you either have any interest, or can form any, or can *say* any, that you will use the

means, to serve me. I have written to Darell also, and to him I have sent besides a letter addressed to you both; and to Petrie a private letter, and a narrative of the Vellore trip, and I am ready to attest the truth of every word I relate *concerning myself* upon oath: nay it might safely include every word of it, *to the best of my knowledge*; and as I was principally concerned in the first and last, and materially so, in the other day's business, I know that I have related the simple matter of fact, without addition or subtraction of anything of moment. To this I have subjoined Coote's letter to me, as the strongest affirmative of the truth of the whole. My letter to you as my friend and attorney, I send to Darell, because he is one, and is more likely to get it immediately. This letter makes the same request, and contains authority *to use money on the occasion*, and likewise to buy me qualifications in the India House, to give me some weight there; for by the purchase, I shall take off three minical votes, and secure a favourable one, which will be equal to four: and if you have not a vote, and will employ part of my money to qualify, provided there will remain enough to bring interest, what will be so laid out will be just as secure to me, if you please to make it so, as if purchased in my own name—you and Darell know the extent of my present small fortune. I have not added to it by my command: I am rather out of pocket by it. I live in hopes, if I can manage to overcome Owen; but if he prevails, there is an end of my expectations, because if he comes above me, it amounts to my dismissal from the service. I have troubled with a very long letter in addition to what I have before sent; but your kindness to me has been so very great, during fifteen years, that I must not suppose you will deem any service you can render me a trouble, and therefore I write in full confidence."

"I flatter myself that shall I hear from you, when our daily expected fleet arrives; if your fletter tells me you are well and happy, it will make me so. God grant you long life, with every comfort that you can enjoy; may you live to receive my thanks in person; if you do, however, I think you will be so far advanced, that you will not wish for a much longer life, for I must make a fortune to revisit England with, and that I fear will require much time: I shall hope so however; and if I could be then sure of having the extreme pleasure of seeing you alive and well, it would greatly add to the energy of my exertions. Adieu, my best of friends, and believe me to be most gratefully and most affectionately, your kinsman and sincere friend.

"COTELAR RIVER,

T. D. PEARSE."

5th March 1783."

"P.S.—You may be sure all the Colonels will remonstrate against Owen: Smith will be active for Ironside; Barwell for Morgan; Wedderburn for Cummings; and so of others; if all succeed, the man must fall."

Colonel Pearse seems to have been impatient of General Stuart's inactivity, and writes as follows from Vellore, 11th March 1783, to Mr. Darell:—

"We are now at Vellore; we did not see one of the enemy on the way. Tippoo is gone off; Mathew's success has drawn him away, and as the whole force of the enemy may be too much for Mathew's detachment, reduced as it is by garrisoning his conquests, and as *he recommends our doing something vigorous here* I write to Lord Macartney on the 9th instant, offering my services to go and seize the passes and to enter Tippoo's Country, with such force as might be thought sufficient. I have not received any answer yet. I hope my offer will be accepted, and if so, I trust that you will hear of a Mathews on this side,—at least, of one who will be as active when he has the power."

If Colonel Pearse's offer had been accepted at this time, it is probable that the *unfortunate fate* of General Mathews and his small garrison at Bednore, which surrendered to Tippoo on the 30th of April, about seven weeks from the time the offer was made, might have been averted. But it appears that the projected attack upon Cuddalore, *required the presence of all the forces which could be collected*; and thus the miserable system of dividing the operations of the Armies into distant and unconnected attacks, instead of concentrating them on the dominion of Tippoo, was an error, which nearly proved fatal to the British arms in Southern India. Peace with France warded off the catastrophe; and the intelligence of the treaty arrived at such an important moment, that *it may justly be allowed to have been a providential interference*. A few days later, and doubtless the British Army before Cuddalore, would have been annihilated. It is evident that Colonel Pearse, had he been in command of the Army, would have seized with a propitious promptness, the opportunity which Hyder's death afforded of striking a decisive blow. His offer to act in support of General Mathews's operations, evinced his opinion of the necessity and advantage of co-operation; and when General Stuart marched the Army back to the Mount, he still endeavoured to forward the intentions of Lord Macartney, by laying before the Council a plan for a prompt attack upon Cuddalore.

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

"How happy should I be, had I never gone away from your command; but Satan filled me with pride and ambition, and fate, in the shape of Coote, has punished me for my folly or wickedness, in entreating two such nearly related vices."

"At last you are at the head of us." * as I say, for I still claim a right to enrol myself in the Royal Regiment, which, and its commander, God preserve! I heartily rejoice at your exaltation; for though I have lost some friends who were dear to me, yet it is all paid, and with interest, in the success of that friend who was and is deservedly the dearest.

"Your letter acknowledges the receipt of mine of the 23th of November, 1781, as the last; but I trust some of later date have since arrived, having written to you on the 29th March 1781, it was a short letter from Ichapoor; on the 10th December 1781, a long letter, and narrative of all our proceedings down to that period to our return from Vellore, dated 21st January or 24th March 1782, but the Letter Book containing those letters, is in Bengal; the narrative was long, the other I think was a short letter."

"A duplicate of the narrative, or rather a new one of the Vellore trip I now send enclosed, and sorry am I to say, that it has become necessary for me to do so, lest you should see, with regret, that Lieutenant-Colonel Owen was *the only man who helped* Sir Eyre Coote. I am sorry that Sir Eyre Coote should, in so advanced a period of his life, meanly condescend to write home absolute falsehoods to His Majesty, for the base purpose of forcing forward a very undeserving man, whose sole merits consists in having been beaten in everything in which he was concerned as principal. In the Pollonn he was absolutely surprised in

* General Pattison, having succeeded to the Command of the Royal Artillery.

camp, yet had time enough to have secured a retreat for his troops and all his baggage, into a woody and mountainous country, where Hyder could not have followed, and where he did not pursue Owen when he did get into it; that good fortune however *Mr. Owen* owed to Captain Moore, whose merit is yet unrewarded. The rear battalion being thrown into confusion, the enemy pushed on and took the rear gun; an Artillery soldier ran up, and told Captain Moore of it, who instantly, with 50 European Bengal Grenadiers, returned to the gun gave them a close fire, and charged bayonets, by which *he retook the gun, checked the enemy, and covered the retreat.*"

"The first narrative I sent you mentioned this slightly; I have been more particular now, because Coote has been pleased to attribute *to this very Owen* all his successes, and has obtained from the King a brevet, to give him the rank of Colonel. What share he had in the 27th of August, and the 27th of September, the same narrative told. You will find that it was your unfortunate friend who had the command in the second line, where *Owen* was posted, and who, when he did act, *acted under my orders*; and the narrative I now send will shew, that Owen had not any share in the 11th of January, where your humble servant had the whole brunt of the day in two different parts, and *Mr. Owen was not even near the scene of action.* On the 16th of January the whole business of the day was performed by the second line under my command; I send you this for your information, because this Owen, who is but a Captain on the Madras establishment, and *Lieutenant-Colonel pro tempore, during Coote's stay in India*, to whom he was Adjutant-General, is now made a Colonel by the King; and I, who am a Colonel in the Company's Army, shall be driven out of the field to avoid this cruel and unjust supersession."

"I left the Army in May 1782. Soon after Permaoöl surrendered to the enemy under Coote's *very note.* He *muddled away* the summer, and at last went to attack Arnee; but he waited, eating up his stock of provisions in Wandewash, until it was reduced to ten days supply, and then set off. Hyder marched to prevent the fall of Arnee, a fight ensued, and our troops best Hyder; and had they had any leaders instead of Coote and Owen, they would have taken all his guns, and thus have ended the war. *But that was the thing dreaded; accordingly, the will contrived want of rice* carried the Army back to Madras. After this they went to Pondicherry on their way to Cuddalore, where they were almost relieved from Coote by his falling sick—the successor was not much better, and very much hated—however fortune has done for us what we could not do for ourselves. Coote being obliged to go away, the Committee sent a reinforcement to the Madras Coast; and that act has freed the Carnatic of the enemy. General Mathews, by means of the troops he found there and carried from Bombay; penetrated into the Bellare country, took the capital, and so obliged Tippoo, (the eldest son of Hyder and his successor) to quit the Carnatic for the defence of his own dominions, and has thus verified what I told Coote, and what others told Coote repeatedly. But he never would have suffered this experiment to have been tried, if he had had as much use of his understanding left as to know what was going on; which happily was not the case: though now, to the misfortune of the country and Company, he is so much recovered as to be enabled to injure them with his services a little longer."

"I rejoined the Army from Bengal, (to which Presidency I had been during my temporary absence) on the 5th of December: Hyder died during this month. Our Army was in cantonments at the Mount, and Stuart had so disabled it, by dismissing the followers, and scattering the whole, by *ordering the troops to one place, the cattle to another, and the followers to a third*, that it could not move till the latter end of January. Then, *instead of going to seek Tippoo* we went to blow up Wandewash and Carrangoly: this we effected in February. Tippoo lay about 18 miles from Wandewash; there was a river between us; part of his troops

crossed to our side, and so we marched to attack them: they fell back, and we returned to Wandewash. It was expected Tippoo would have crossed to meet us; but we now know that he received news of Mathew's having taken the Bednore country, either the night before, or that morning, viz., 13th of February. After this expedition, we went to throw grain into Vellore: on the 4th of March we heard the confirmation of Mathew's success, and fired a royal salute for it. The news had reached Madras on the 3d, which demonstrates that Tippoo had heard of it about the time abovementioned, if not earlier; for by his own dawk, he would receive the intelligence in a very short time; whereas, we got our news by single messengers. On the 9th of March we got to Marmundihon, where we had the two fights mentioned in the narrative; and there we learnt that Tippoo had retreated from the Carnatic. I immediately made an offer to proceed towards Bangalore, to secure the Dalmajeeree pass, and either pass it or keep possession; but it could not be carried into execution, as our Army was wanted for Cuddalore. On the 12th we got close to Arcot, found it was evacuated, and our troops entered. I went in the next day, and found the place demolished, *root and branch*; the citadel indeed had been only breached by ill-contrived mines on one side, and may be soon repaired. Why it was given up, I own I cannot discover. Troops which would suffice to defend five or six miles of ramparts of the city, when they could hardly mount a gun to return the fire, might have defended the citadel at least as long again as they did the City, according to my ideas. You are to understand that the citadel is a fort standing in the middle of the city, and the esplanade round it, was 300 yards wide at least, and in some parts it extended to the city ramparts. The ramparts of the citadel were thicker and better than those of the town. The citadel was a great deal broader and deeper, and infinitely better flanked. There was not a house of the old town left, but a new was rising, laid out according to Hyder's magnificence, in fine broad streets; and had he lived and kept possession of it, Arcot would have been a magnificent place in a few years."

"We are now preparing to go against Cuddalore, and I hope we shall be away before Coote returns: nay, I hope we shall take it, before we see him. In that case I will serve, but not if Owen comes, or if the King's brevets are published by authority, and the officers take rank. The case is this, there will only be two Majors of the King's service who will not command me; first because they got brevets as Lieutenant-Colonels, and now those brevets have been held out as original commissions; and a second brevet rank makes all who were *Lieutenant-Colonels in India*, Colonels, including Captain Owen. I hear Lang, of the Coast establishment, has obtained a brevet from the King, above them all: but for want of money and friends I stand fast, and of course must retire, to prevent shame and disgrace. You tell me to turn my thoughts towards England, but my good friend, were I there just now, you would turn your back on me. I hardly think you will believe my narratives, or my assurances that to the best of my knowledge, they contain an account of the whole of the transactions, *and the very truth*; and you will not find anything dishonourable there; yet you find me dishonoured, disgraced, superseded: not mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief, who recommended Owen as the officer *to whom he owes all his success*, which is so contrary to the narrative, that if you do not believe me, cannot blame you. However, if I live, I will endeavour to set the matter right, and struggle for redress; but I am so chagrined now, that I do assure you I do not wish to live long."

"A Hanoverian Lieutenant-Colonel came over here, with the rank of *Colonel in India*; his name is Reinelt. General Stuart took him with part of his regiment into the field in February. This offended me very much; for, first, if Stuart had fallen, I believe it is illegal that a foreigner should command—secondly, the Company had ordered that one of their own officers should always be at the head of their own Armies—

thirdly, he was ignorant of the manners and customs of the English, and but very indifferently acquainted with our language :—and fourthly, he was utterly unacquainted with the language, manners, and customs of the Indians. This knowledge is so materially necessary, that our troops cannot be kept together, without the minutest attention to it. I accordingly wrote to our Board, for redress, which was the only way I could ask for a brevet for superior rank. I sent the letter away the 6th of January; it is accompanied by another, under cover, to my Attornies; in which, I requested, that if after considering my letter of the same date, the Board could not grant me redress, they would permit me to resign the command of the detachment, and be pleased to appoint some other officer to take charge of it."

"My Attornies would not have presented this at all, for they did not deem the injury so great as I did; but on the 20th of January the news of Owen's promotion and the brevets reached Calcutta, and then they sent it in. We got the same news here on the 1st of February, in consequence of which I wrote more pressing to my Attornies to urge the Governor to stir for me, being determined not to serve *under any of them*; but most positively not under Owen. Yesterday I got a letter, dated 20th of February, which says, my recall is *recorded*; which, being an unusual term, confuses me very much. Owen's promotion appears in our Bengal newspapers. If it is issued in orders, there is an end of my serving here. If we can get away before it appears, or Coote arrives, then I go to the siege of Cuddalore; but if the order of promotion is sent, then I shall proceed to Bengal by the first conveyance, and most likely to the burying ground soon after.* With such a load upon my mind, I am a very fit person to sit down and make my peace with your good lady. If I can muster up courage enough, I will try; but if I fail, plead in my behalf that I most faithfully replied to her kind letter, received by Miss Fraser in October 1781. Miss Fraser went to Bengal and is married; and I again did myself the honour to write to her, on the 21st of January 1782. Adieu, my good friend, Adieu!"

"MADRAS,
21st March 1783."

"I am most faithfully
and humbly your's,
T. D. PEARSE."

A letter appears at this time written to Sir Robert Barker. The first part of the letter recapitulates grievances, etc., but the latter is interesting: the letter proceeds as follows:—

"Now for my models. I told you all I knew of the efforts that had been made to convey circular motion from a reciprocating prime mover. Keane Fitzgerald's was one, and Stuart's, the secretary of Bengal, another project. Whether mine is the first invention of the plan I proposed, or not, it is as much an invention in me, as if it had been thought of before by any one]. Maskeylynt has suppressed all my astronomical observations, and

* General Sir Eyre Coote, returned to Madras on the 23rd of April, and a third fit of apoplexy terminated his life on the 26th.—Query. Is there not an error in the date upon the Sarcophagus at Madras, on which, we believe, this event is recorded to have happened on the 12th of February 1783?

† Miss Eliza Doll Fraser, eldest daughter of Alexander Fraser of Fairfield in Inverness and great grand-daughter of the eighth Lord Lovat. She married at Berhampore, Major Allan Macpherson. She was therefore the great-grandmother of the Hon'ble Mr. W. C. Macpherson of the Bengal Board of Revenue. A sister of her's married Captain Hume Cox, who gave his name to Cox's Bazar.—Ed., *Bengal: Past and Present*.

‡ A similar invention had been made by Mr. Swenson, or by Messrs. Bolton and Watts.

had not the civility even to answer my letters to him, which is rude enough for a philosopher and a man of science; but I can tell you why I suppose he did so. In writing the account of observations on an occultation of α Leonis—my transit instrument, I mentioned, had been fixed but a short time before: I could not therefore be certain, whether it was correct in the meridian or not. I therefore related that I had taken transits of stars, both north and south; by which the error of the instrument, with regard to the meridian, if any, could be ascertained by means of the proper tables, which I had not. When Maskeylyne went to Scotland to ascertain the power of attraction, he made use of the same mode to adjust his instrument; and he speaks of it as his own invention—*ergo, producing my observations*, would show a hint of the mode, prior to his using it. Again, speaking of another occultation, I said *the star first appeared to grow red, then dim, and then vanished*; which seems to denote an atmosphere round the moon, and such I think it may have: for, when we consider that the atmosphere round our earth extends only 45 miles high, and in the upper regions, it is so very rare as to be comparatively nothing; if we add this distance to the moon's semi-diameter, it will only increase the visible angle a minute. Even our atmosphere may be doubted by the inhabitants of the moon. So, if Maskeylyne is to introduce the supposition of an atmosphere to the moon, *it is better not to produce any observations*. In the Carnatic, I thought of a new method for correcting the variations of a pendulum from expansion; but I have no time to write the description now. I have made many astronomical observations to fix longitudes and latitudes of places, with a view of correcting the geography of the coast from Ganjam to this place: and I have measured some remarkable mountains by the barometer, and by a theodolite, which measurements I will send to you one of these days. Pray what became of my parabola instrument? I have a machine almost finished for grinding specula to the figure of a parabola without *Mr. Mayer's magnet touch*. As soon as I get time again, I will complete it, and send a speculum to you. Therefore, hereafter, if I live, I shall hope to divert you in the way you permit me."

"If Cropplestone is not provided for, be assured I will do the best I can, even in the midst of the *brevet business*, but this has engrossed soul and body."

MADRAS.

11th March 1765.

The following *rhythmical* letter we present to the reader, in full assurance that the perusal of it will afford gratification to all who have felt interested in the feelings of its author. The lines contain many amiable sentiments, agreeably turned in easy verse, and as such are honourable to the writer of them; not from the excellence of poetry, but from a higher and a worthier merit.

The lady they are addressed to was the amiable consort of General Pattison, of the Royal Artillery, Colonel Pearse's earliest and kindest benefactor, and constant friend.

"Think not, dear Madam, that I can,
Tho' banish'd far to Hindoostan,
Forget the rights which friendships claim,
And by such act disgrace my name.

Friendship's a chain which hearts unite,
And well preserved, affords delight
Too great to be the sport of time—
Too great for me to treat in rhyme :
Yet, what it dictates I must write,
Because I deem it good and right.
When young, I felt the gen'rous flame
Now older, still I feel the same.
And gratitude will make it due
To all I must esteem like you.
You and the general first laid
The plan by which my fortune's made ;
His patronage first led me forth,
His guidance gave me all my worth,
If any I may claim : and you
Presented virtue to my view,
In colours so refin'd and bright,
My eyes were dazzled at the sight.
At first surprised, I knew not why,
Kind nature prompted me to try,
By imitating what I saw,
To find the force of virtue's law.
Insensibly I thus was led,
In the same blessed paths to tread,
And with the progress of my mind,
To closer union was inclin'd,
And persevering to that end,
As a reward, found you my friend.
On such a solid basis rais'd,
Sweet friendship must be ever prais'd.
And in full strength and splendour last
Till the last hour of life be past.
Now let me plead,—it was not fair
To think that I could ever dare
To shew neglect to what you wrote,
Whether 'twere letter, card or note :
Much less so, when you condescend,
In absence of my worthy friend,
His place to fill, and cheer my heart
With the good news you did impart,
That he was far removed from home
In honour's gladsome paths to roam,
To wrest the laurels from the brows
Of rebels in Americ's snows,
To serve his country and his King,
Sweet peace restore, and glory bring.
To Albion's shores ; and there enjoy
Repose and bliss without alloy—

That you yourself were blest with health,
 Wished me that comfort, and much wealth,
 And kindly bade me soon return
 From India's shores, which ever burn,
 To climes more mild, and friends sincere,
 Who kindly wish to have me near.
 Such gen'rous sentiments as these,
 Could not do otherwise than please ;
 And to neglect them were a crime,
 That could not be effac'd by time.
 Then seek the cause of the delay
 In the misfortunes of the day ;
 For horrid war with fiercest rays,
 Doth ev'ry British son engage,
 From east to west, nor sea nor land,
 Can for a moment peace command.
 The merchant dares not venture far,
 Lest he should suffer by the war :
 Friends to all parties can't escape,
 If they presume to turn the Cape :
 For one wants copper, medicine, wine ;
 The other wants a hook and line ;
 So be there much or little cause,
 The want supplies the place of laws,
 And every ship that bears supplies,
 Becomes, of course, an useful prize.
 The dangers thus you see increase,
 And letters cannot pass, till peace.
 By such mischance, I now lament,
 That numbers which I wrote and sent
 Have missed their way, and you complain,
 That though you write, you write in vain.
 So Pearse, the General too accus'd,
 Till he your friendly lines perus'd,
 And then first learnt that privateers,
 Had made the gap of several years.
 But since I know one ship arriv'd,
 I hope your friendship is reviv'd.
 The Swallow safely reached your shore
 And to yourself one letter bore ;
 The Gen'l too, by her would hear
 That I was safe, and he was dear.
 Whilst thus I write to ease my mind,
 Oppressed with cares of every kind,
 And strive to conquer foreign foes
 Coote furnishes a source of woes.
 His enmity will never cease,
 But daily with his years increase—

Of this enough — the Gen'l knows
 Both what I mean and whence it rose.
 And now good Lady, I'll explain
 Why I shall never cross the main ;
 Though you invite, it cannot be,
 The contrary is my fate's decree
 The stories travellers have told,
 That India's soil is made of gold ;
 Its hills of diamonds, sparkling bright,
 Tho' they deceive, afford delight ;
 But we, who now defend the coast,
 Find bare subsistence there, at most ;
 And Pearce, who fifteen years has tri'd
 What could be done in India's pride,
 Can only make a shift to live,
 With scarce an anna left to give.
 No superfluity appears
 To raise a fund for later years ;
 No friend to wave a magic wand,
 And make wealth roll at my command ;
 Whilst Coote agree to keep me poor,
 And thrust me back from fortune's door
 Hence it is plain I ne'er shall spy,
 The joyful Land of Liberty.
 For surely it would be a curse,
 To meet you there with empty purse,
 Without the means to live at ease,
 And being pleas'd to strive to please.
 Now I must end this rant in rhyme.
 Lest you lament your loss of time,
 Spent in perusing what I write,
 Mere trash I 'unfit to bear the sight,
 But which I hope will serve to shew,
 The gratitude with which I glow
 As such, accept what I rehearse,
 I am, your faithful T. D. PEARCE."

" MADRAS :
 22nd January, 1783."

The following letter to Lionel Darell, Esq., contains a short statement of the business at Cuddalore ; and is interesting and important as a document.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I had applied to the Supreme Council for a brevet, they did not grant it ; they did not even answer my letter. I staid with the Army however, and was at the attack of the *bonnet* *Arge*. Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly with his brigade and the Madras Europeans carried the works on the left, without loss or trouble ; by manœuvre—the Grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart were repulsed in an attack they made on the next work, which was a

redoubt. The 1st battalion of the 13th regiment of Bengal sepoys; and the Carnatic battalion commanded by Captain Trent, covered the retreat of the defeated Europeans; the whole line then attacked the same redoubt except Kelly, (who was out of the way), and the body on the right was opposed to other works. The Hanoverians, 101st and 25th Bengal regiment, and part of Muirhead's Carnatic battalion, formed an attack in front of it; the Grenadiers and the troops under Colonel Stuart were to have moved up at the same time, on the left, but the signal was not understood, so the front attack was made: the 101st broke, the Hanoverians, within 20 yards of the parapet, did so too, and the 25th followed.* I got a severe wound in my thigh, having advanced with the Hanoverians, and was obliged to move off. The French quitted their trenches to pursue; Lieutenant Dias who commanded Muirhead's companies, having rallied his men, went round by the left, got into the redoubt and fired upon the enemy. The French returned from the pursuit, and endeavoured to drive away Dias, but the Grenadiers and troops from the left came up, and so secured the works."

"I tell you all this, because General Stuart has done all he can to suppress any knowledge of the good conduct of the Company's troops or officers, on purpose to bring forward the King's as having *done all, which is not true*: for they were repulsed everywhere, and the first impression was made by the Company's. But we are under a cloud, and have no friend to help us."

"CUDDALORE:

22th July, 1783."

TO SIR ROBERT BARKER:

"DEAR SIR,

"As the papers will inform you that I was wounded, I must tell you that I am very nearly recovered; and in a week more expect to be as well as ever I was. The wound was in my right thigh; the ball could not be found, and as I rode a considerable distance afterwards and the hole very large, perhaps it is not in the thigh now; but if it is, it does not signify, as I do not feel any pain from it."

"I sent to you by a Portuguese ship the attested copy of a letter of thanks from Coote, written just before his death: also a narrative of our trip to Vellore in 1782, to counteract anything that he may have done to my prejudice."

"I have had so much writing to-day, having heard by accident of the opportunity of a dispatch, and having been obliged to write to my Attornies, that you must excuse me from sending you a history of the present expedition. I sent a sketch to Darell, because General Stuart's orders of thanks are *founded on falsehood, intentionally to conceal the disgrace of the King's troops, who were defeated everywhere and saved by the sepoys*, who covered their retreat: I daresay he will shew it to you."

"What think you of our sepoys now?—On the 13th, covering defeated European grenadiers—steady, when unsupported by others: rallying, and returning to the charge with

* Captain Durie of the 25th Regiment was killed in this redoubt and Colonel Pearse in a letter to General Stibbert, writes—"Captain Durie's body being slightly covered with earth, in the place where he fell, was left there. The Sepoys went, uncovered the body, and transported it to Camp, and there buried it in proper form: and thus gave such a proof of their attachment to their deceased officer, as can hardly be equalled in the annals of any corps."

bayonet against Frenchmen? On the 25th of June, the 24th Bengal regiment defeated the enemy's attack on our trenches; killed many with their bayonets only; took two colours, and recovered the other pair which had been lost; sustaining the fire of the enemy in front, and that of our own troops in the rear, and took prisoner the Colonel who commanded the attack. The French acknowledge 350 Europeans lost that day, and only the 24th regiment was engaged; for the Europeans behind them, ran away full speed, which threw a Carnatic battalion into disorder, and occasioned the confusion I speak of. I must have done now, being unable to write more. Adieu.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your truly obedient servant,
T. D. PEARSE."

" CUDDALORE :
6th July, 1783."

" P.S.—Captain A. K. Dickson desires his best respects to you."

(Part III concluded. Part IV, only remains for publication.)



General Note-Book.



MONGHYR.—Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II., No. 3, gave some very interesting notes on Monghyr. I visited the place last Easter with the idea of photographing some of the sights named by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford. I was, however, not altogether favoured by having the proper light when I required it. Accompanying this is a photograph of the ruined bridge over the Dakra Nala. This bridge crosses the *Nala* where it is about 100 yards wide. The bridge itself is about 18 to 20 feet wide and only two arches and one abutment now remain, there being probably eight or nine arches originally. It seems strongly built of brick. Mir Kasim very likely blew it up when he was driven westwards by Adams in September 1763. The *Nala* is now crossed by a chain-ferry.

I went to Pīrpahar also, which is a rocky promontory of a greater height than Monghyr and lies about three miles below on the Ganges. There are three fine old houses near Pīrpahar, one in ruins, and under the main hill is the European Cemetery mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford. It is not enclosed and the three graves now existing lie beneath spreading banian trees. One of the monuments is nameless and another has a badly broken tablet inscribed "*—who departed—26th April 183—, Aged 33.*" The third monument is a striking one which might be mistaken for the walled enclosure round a Mahomedan mosque. Inside this enclosure is the inscription—

*"Be still—she sleeps
MARY ANN BECKETT
19 July 1832."*

Mr. E. W. Madge, to whom I referred, suggests that this lady may have been the wife of John Beckett, a retired officer of the Mahratta Service who was residing at Monghyr at the time of her death and for some years afterwards. There is a local tradition that Mary Ann Beckett fell down the hill and was killed while riding.

In the old cemetery just outside the Northern Gate of the Fort at Monghyr, there are a few inscriptions of interest, Major-General James Murray Macgregor is buried close to the gate; he died on the 7th December 1818, aged 30, "oppressed and broken by a series of unmerited

misfortunes." Nothing can be ascertained as to the history of this officer except the bare facts of promotion given by Dodwell and Miles. From this book we find that he was appointed a Cavalry Cadet in 1778; Cornet on August 11th, 1778; Lieutenant, 1781; Captain, 1796; Major, 1800; Lieutenant Colonel, 1801; Colonel 1810 and Major-General on June 4th 1813. It would be interesting to know more of him and his misfortunes.

The oldest monument in the cemetery is formed by using an ancient Hindu Pillar, and attached to this, set in brickwork is a tablet with the inscription:—

*" This monument was Erected
To the Memory of
Euseb : James Stewart
by his friend Lt : Clearihue
At the desire of his brother
He died on ye 5th June 1768-9.*

These cemeteries are in bad order, two of the tablets in the Fort gate cemetery are loose, so I will quote the inscriptions before they are lost:—

(1) *" David Caston
who departed his life
on the
24th March 1835
Aged 1 year, 4 months, and 25 days.*

(2) *" In memory of
Mrs. Ellen Tresham
who died 3rd December 1847,
3 coss below Suckriegully*
aged 33 years."*

A. F. C. de C.

NO mention is made of the name of the work in which the portrait of Warren Hastings facing page 373 of the April-June number appeared. Can this be a portrait made and published in Calcutta in Hastings' time and noted by contemporaries, which has disappeared? My books on Calcutta are all packed up and I am unable to refer to them, but there are references to a missing local portrait of Warren Hastings which should be worth looking for, though I cannot state from memory where I have read about it. Its disappearance may account for Sir G. Scharf's omission of it in his list.

* Sakrigali, near Sahabganj, on the Ganges.

On page 393 there is a query as to what became of the old altar-piece of the Armenian Church. On the occasion of the Society's visit to the Church last March, a few of us found our way into a sort of loft in the gallery at the lower end of the Church. The old altar-piece of the "Last Supper" was lying there and was unrolled for our inspection. It appeared to have been reduced in size somewhat from the original proportions, and it would be interesting to know its history. One or two small paintings also are kept in the loft.

On the same page the Armenian tombstone of 1630 is referred to as an "isolated" instance. If it is not *in situ* then many others in its near vicinity must also be not *in situ*. The whole area of the churchyard round about this particular stone may of course have been relaid. But the stone has every appearance of being in its natural position. Its design and quality are in keeping with others close by, which may be of the same age, though owing to the fact that in course of time, dates and details of conventional ornamentation have disappeared, in their cases the age cannot now be ascertained. A stone brought from a distance would be hardly likely to possess the same outward characteristics of many neighbouring stones. To my mind the view taken by Mr. Seth in his admirable book should be accepted, and the onus of disproving the authenticity of the 1630 stone thrown upon the sceptic who doubts its record in relationship to its surroundings.

W. C.

IN the article entitled *Some More Prints of Old Calcutta* that appeared in the April-June number of *Bengal: Past and Present* mention is made of Wm. Hodges' *Select Views in India, Drawn on the Spot, 1780-3* and it is stated that these are perhaps the very earliest aquatints dealing with Calcutta, though none are actual views of the city itself.

We have in our library a volume called *Travels in India during the Years 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783* by Wm. Hodges, R.A., which was generously presented to the Society by Mr. A. N. Templeton. This contains an excellent "View of Calcutta from Fort William" painted by Hodges for the collection of Warren Hastings. It bears a close resemblance to Samuel Davis' picture with the same title which was reproduced facing p. 35 of the last issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*. Both were evidently painted from the same standpoint, though Davis' view was published twelve years after that by Hodges.

It is stated also that Daniell's *Oriental Scenery* was published between 1795 and 1808, but in Hodges' *Travels* above-mentioned, published in 1793, the author says "some views in the city of Calcutta published by Mr. Daniel are highly to be commended for their accuracy" which would appear

to indicate that some of the views at any rate were published prior to that date.

C. C.

MAJOR ALBAN WILSON writes to us:—In all books on medals that I know there is one which is supposed to have been given for the Sepoy's services in suppressing the Mutiny of Europeans at Monghyr in 1766. It is described as having on the obverse, "a figure of Britannia seated between two palmyra trees" Reverse "*Non nisi digni—MDCCLXVI*." Now I do not believe this was a military medal at all; firstly because the Company were chary in giving medals and did not give one for Plassey, so they would scarcely be likely to give one for a promenade in which not a shot was fired. Secondly, the so-called figure of Britannia is that of Minerva undoubtedly, for she has a spear instead of a trident, an owl sitting beside her, and the Medusa's head on her shield. The medal is of silver and it would be interesting to know if there was any sort of a School or Military College going in Calcutta at that time, in which this medal may have been given as a reward for learning, which in my opinion is what it was given for. Your Historical Society might be able to find out something about it.

MR. PURNA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR of Murshidabad writes to us:—In the "Further Notes" to the illustrations reproduced in *Bengal: Past and Present*, at page 341 of the current issue, I read, "the Khatra Masjid at Murshidabad was built, not as Hodges has it by 'Jaffier Cawn' but by Murshid Kuli Khan." This is evidently a mistake. Murshid Kuli Khan, the Founder of the city of Murshidabad, who built the mosque and lies buried under the stairs, was known as Jaffer Khan Zinda Pir; Hodges is therefore correct when he says the mosque was built by him. The Founder was called the Zinda Pir or living Saint and it is believed that cholera never breaks out in the vicinity of this sacred building through his benefactions; *vide* page 173 of my *Musnud of Murshidabad*, from which my original translation of the inscription on the slab over the middle doorway of the Mosque has been quoted in the "Further Notes" alluded to above.

[The object of the note was to prevent the builder of the Mosque in question being confused with the person whom the English generally called "Meer Jaffier" and who was placed on the Musnud of Murshidabad after Plassey. To English readers the builder of the Khatra Mosque is known as Murshid Kuli Khan, but our friend Mr. Majumdar points out quite correctly that he also was known as Jaffier Khan. The point remains that the builder of the Mosque was not the person best known to modern readers as Mir Jafar—Clive's friend.—Editor, *Bengal: Past and Present*.]



TRANQUERBAR CITY GATE FROM WITHIN.



DANSBORG CASTLE, TRANQUERBAR, FROM S.-E. BASTION.



THE TRADITIONAL BIRTHPLACE OF MADAME GRAND, TRANQUERBAR.

CAPTAIN A. WORK writes: "Having occasion recently to visit Negapatam it occurred to me that a day would be well spent in looking round the old Danish settlement of Tranquebar, the birthplace of perhaps the most romantic figure in Calcutta history—Madame Grand. Tranquebar is about 20 miles distant from Negapatam and the road is execrable. Immediately inside the city gate is a fairly wide road flanked by residential buildings bearing obvious signs of former prosperity but now falling into decay. The Lutheran Church is on the right and the Anglican Church, which is said to date from 1650, on the left of this road. At the end is a large square bounded on the north-west by Government House and the High Court, on the south-east by Dansbourg Fort and Castle, on the north-east by the sea and on the south-west by a row of buildings at present occupied by officers of the Salt Department and Police. A venerable looking Mahomedan acted as my guide. He said he was 65 years of age and had never been out of Tranquebar. He claimed to remember the Danish occupation and recalled being sent by his father on many occasions to get money changed at the Fort. We went through the old castle and saw the dark, ill-ventilated cells where the prisoners were confined. The wells inside the Fort are in a good state of preservation, though built nearly 300 years ago, and are the only reliable water-supply the town has at the present time. My guide pointed out a house in King Street as the birthplace of Catherine Verléé and displayed such an intimate knowledge of her adventurous career, that I asked him from whence he derived his information. He replied "From my father who lived till he was 87 and knew all the people here." Catherine Verléé was born in Nov. 1762 and married Mr. Grand in Calcutta in 1777, so the old Mahomedan's statement may be true, and he may possibly be a living link to connect the present with the period which is the most fascinating in Calcutta history. Tranquebar was purchased by the Danes from the Rajah of Tanjore in 1616. The old church is particularly interesting. The collection boxes, silver mounted on oak sticks, are dated 1656. The clock appears to be of German make but bears neither date nor maker's name. One of the bells is dated 1697, the others are undated but appear more modern. A street which runs from the back of the Anglican Church to the west wall divides the Hindus from the Mahomedans, the former occupying the south-west quarter and the latter the north-west. I saw two Hindu temples almost in ruins, but the Mahomedan Mosque is in a good state of repair though it is said to have been built long before the Danish occupation. In traversing these cross streets, or lanes, one sinks almost to the knees in soft sand and some of them are blocked altogether by house walls that have fallen outwards. It was not only from the landward side that the Danes had to protect their settlement with a strong wall but also in the front where they had to build

revetments to keep back the encroaching sea. Little of these revetments now remains and the once strong wall is now only a name. With the exception of a small portion close to the gate there is nothing remaining but ruins.

MR. J. MEADE has very kindly sent us, through the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., a copy of the following curious document :—

Sindia's Camp near Muttra (10th of April 1790) tenth day of April, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety.

Being in good health in body and in mind, and aware of the many vicissitudes of fortune in this world, I think it proper at the time of commencing a journey to Hyderabad for the sake of my children and relations to make a testament of my Will in respect to the disposal of my worldly fortune of every denomination. I leave in case of my decease one-third of my money, effects and whatever I may be possessed of at the time of my death to William Stewart, commonly called my son, born of Singy Khanam, native of Delhy, and likewise I leave one-third of my money, effects and whatever I may be possessed of at the time of my death to Cicie Stewart, commonly called my daughter, born of Singy Khanam, aforesaid, native of Delhy. In case of the aforesaid Singy Khanam having another child by me I bequeath to him or her, according as it may be male or female, one-sixth part of my money, effects and whatever I may be possessed of at the time of my death and the remaining one-sixth part of my money, effects and whatever I may be possessed of at the time of my death, I bequeath to my uncle, sisters and brothers and desire that the said sixth part shall be divided equally amongst these three classes, *i.e.*, my uncle aforesaid shall have as much as all my sisters, because I know his generosity to me, and my brothers shall have as much as my uncle. Be it known notwithstanding what has been already written that I direct the sum of two thousand sicca rupees shall be given to Singy Khanam aforesaid exclusive of the above shares or division of my money and effects and prior to the division of the shares.

Signed, sealed and forwarded duplicate of this my last Will to Mr. John Moubray, my Attorney at Calcutta, who I request will be executor jointly with Mr. Peter Cochrane, Surgeon, and William Blane, Surgeon in India, in the management of remitting my money, disposal of my effects, and collection of my claims in India and in Europe, for the purpose of being divided as by my wish herein expressed. The children, I also recommend to their care and join in the executorship for the management of them, and of their affairs in Britain, my uncle Charles Stewart, Esq., my brothers Thomas



CUTCHERRY AT SERAMPORE, FORMERLY THE DANISH GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.



ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH, SERAMPORE.



PART OF THE OLD WALL, DANSBORG CASTLE, TRANQUEBAR, FROM THE S.W. BASTION.

and Charles Stewart and join these three latter with the first three above names to direct and execute this my last Will and testament.

Signed and sealed where no stamp (Sd.) WILLIAM STEWART,
 paper was to be had for love of money, *Lieut. in the English Company's*
 in the presence of (Sd.) THOS. PHIPPS. *Service.*
 (Seal.)

IN connection with their List of interesting monuments in the Circular Road Cemetery, in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, Messrs. Madge and O'Connell send us the following *Errata* and Supplementary List:—

Opposite page 311.	<i>Illustrations.</i> For "The Rt. Hon. Mr. James Wilson" read The Rt. Hon. James Wilson.
Page 310. No. 7.	<i>Name.</i> After "J. C. C. Sutherland" add B.C.S.
" 313. " 25.	<i>Position.</i> For 6th walk read 7th walk.
" " " 26.	" Ditto.
" 316. " 44.	<i>Brief Remarks.</i> For "came into possession of" read obtained the reversionary right to.
" 322. " 96.	<i>Name.</i> For "A. D'B. Gomes" read A.D'B. Gomess.
" " " 97.	<i>Brief Remarks.</i> For "(see No. 92)" read (see No. 94).

LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY, CALCUTTA.

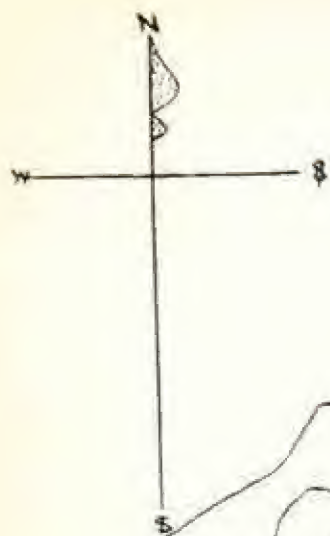
SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF MONUMENTS OF HISTORIC, LITERARY AND GENERAL INTEREST.

No.	Plot and Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.
117	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 34: 1st Row, East; 9th grave from South.	1858	Lieut. Solomon Earle	E. I. Co.'s Invalid Establ. Had served at Waterloo in the 2nd and Light Infantry ("King George's Legion").
118	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 21: 2nd Row, West; 13th grave from South.	1860	Robt. Haldane Rattray, B.C.S. (retired).	Author of <i>The Exile and Other Poems</i> . Designed La Martinibre building, Calcutta.
119	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 12: 4th Row, West; 1st grave from North.	1861	Mrs. Amelia Sandes	Wife of F. C. Sandes, Govt. Solicitor, and daughter of Sir J. Lister-Kaye, and Bart.
120	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 14: 1st Row, East; 3rd grave from South.	1865	Mrs. E. A. Trevor	Daughter of Rev. H. S. Fisher, Chaplain, and wife of Major-Genl. W. S. Trevor, R.E., V.C., C.S.I., who had as a lad been imprisoned in Afghanistan, and was latterly Dir. Genl. of Railways and Secy., Govt. of India, P.W.D.
121	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 30: 1st Row, West; 2nd grave from North.	1870	C. S. Hogg	Bar-at-law; Admr.-Genl., Bengal.
122	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 30: 2nd Row, East; 4th grave from South.	1875	Mrs. M. Frye	Wife of C. Flannan Frye, Organist, St. Paul's Cathedral, who was well known here as a Professor of Music. Her brother, A. E. Caddy, the artist who painted "The Lying-in-State of Lord Mayo" (in Government House), is also buried here. (No inscription. Died 1904.)
123	R. C. Portion. [Not traceable as exact position was not recorded.]	1881	Signor A. Niccolini	Well known in Calcutta as a Professor of Music.
124	(8TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot E: 2nd Row, West; 5th grave from South.	1883	Mrs. Nina Forster	Misspelt "Forster" on monument. Relict of Col. H. Forster, C.B. (No. 27). An Indian lady who made a large bequest to the District Charitable Society.

125	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot IV : 1st Row, East : 1st grave from South.	1886	Rev. J. E. Payne	...	...	Twenty-six years a Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta.
126	(2TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 13 : 1st Row, West : 1st grave from North.	1887	F. J. Fergusson	...	...	Bar-at-law. Official Trustee, Bengal.
127	(10TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot K : 1st Row, West : 2nd grave from North.	1899	Marchioness L. R. Korsakoff	...	...	Wife of Chevalier Alessandro de Goyzueta dei Marchesi di Toverena, Italian Consul-General.
128	(10TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 47 : 5th Row, East : 3rd grave from South.	1908	W. V. G. Tayler, B.C.S. (retired).	...	...	Second Son of W. Tayler, B.C.S., Commr. of Path during the Mutiny by his wife, daughter of John Palmer, the Merchant-Prince. [Nameless grave]
129	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot II : 1st Row, West : 32nd grave from South.	1909	Rev. C. Jordan	...	...	Thirty-nine years connected with the Baptist Missionary Society in Bengal.
130	(3RD WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 23 : 1st Row, East : 12th grave from South.	1901	Capt. Marcus Tullius Cox	...	...	The West Indian Commander of the Pioneer Co., C. V. R. Manipur Medal.
131	(3TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 1 : 1st Row, West : 9th grave from South (nameless vault).	1904	J. H. Delchambere...	...	...	Retired Dy. Registrar. High Court.
132	(10TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 47 : 5th Row, West : 7th grave from South.	1908	Dr. H. C. Garth, M.D.	...	...	Son of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Garth, Kt., Q.C., P.C., Chief Justice of Bengal.
133	(1TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 44 : 4th Row, West : 11th grave from North (nameless grave).	1909	Capt. Samuel Nelson	...	...	The West Indian Commander of the S.S. "Dumbarton"; and a Freemason.
134	(12TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot P : 6th Row, East : 1st grave from North.	1910	C. T. Long	...	...	Manager, Great Northern Railway, Canada.
135	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 19 : 2nd Row, East : 23rd grave from South.	1850	Edmund Burke Ryan.	...	...	Bar-at-law; son of Sir Edward Ryan, Chief Justice of Bengal.

No.	Plot and Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.
136	(5TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 1 ; 4th Row, East ; 6th grave from South.	1856	Rev. J. G. Fink	Bapt. Missionary. His Life (<i>Among the Naghs</i>) was written by the Rev. R. Robinson (No. 40.)
137	(6TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot II ; 4th Row, West ; 4th grave from North.	1878	G. J. T. Jefferson	Agent, Reuter's Telegram Co., Calcutta.
138	(12TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 45 ; 4th Row, East ; 2nd grave from South.	1907	Martyn Wallis	Manager, Calcutta Tramways Co.





PLAN — OF
SOBH NATH — HILL — DIST — GAYA
scale — 2 inches = 1 mile



Notes on some Buddhist Remains in Magabla.



FIG. 1. STUPA AT MAGABLA.

THE great importance of Buddhist remains in Magabla has long been known to the public, and the discovery of the remains of the Buddha, the great teacher of the world, has been a great help to the public. The remains of the Buddha, the great teacher of the world, have been found in Magabla, and the public has been able to see them. The remains of the Buddha, the great teacher of the world, have been found in Magabla, and the public has been able to see them.

The remains of the Buddha, the great teacher of the world, have been found in Magabla, and the public has been able to see them. The remains of the Buddha, the great teacher of the world, have been found in Magabla, and the public has been able to see them.



Notes on some Buddhist Remains in Magadha.

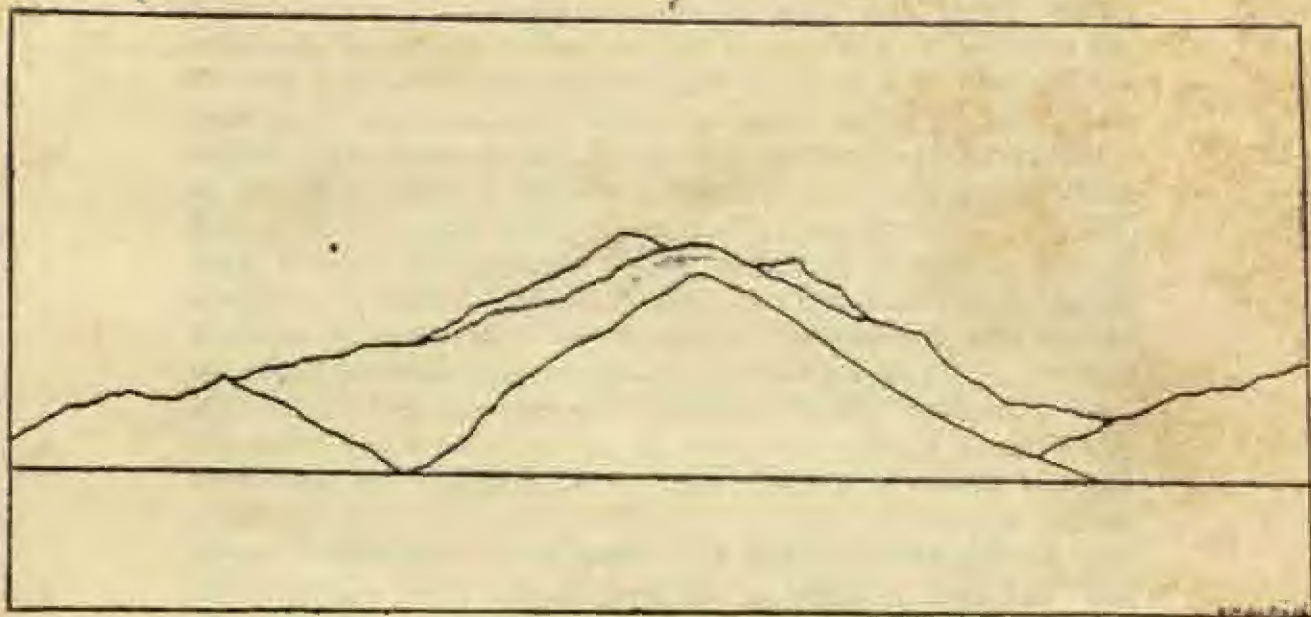


Fig. No. 1.

SORNATH HILL. (From North-west.)

NO. I. COCK'S-FOOT MOUNTAIN.



THE great importance of Cock's-foot Mountain in olden times may be gathered from a passage in the travels of I. Tsing translated by Mr. Takakusu. He says when coming to India on board ship in the year 671, "I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer Park (at Benares); at other times I would repose in the hope of reaching the Cock's-foot Mountain (Kukkutapādagiri)." He entered the Deer Park and ascended the Cock's-foot Mountain, but unfortunately does not tell us anything about them.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, 1901, is an article entitled "Notes on an Archaeological Tour in South Bihar and Hazaribagh" by Dr. Stein in which he

identifies Sobhnāth Hill, District Gaya, as Cock's-foot Mountain. In J.A.S.B., 1906, is an article by Mr. R. D. Banerji with an introductory note by the late Dr. Bloch favouring Gurpā Hill as the correct site. A few further details regarding both hills and of the Buddhist remains there, it is hoped, may prove of interest to the readers of this journal and lead to a final pronouncement as to which is right.

Hiuen Tsiang visited the spot in or about 637; the description given by him in Beal's translation is quoted here for convenience of reference. "To the east of Mahi river" (after crossing from Budh-Gaya) "we enter a great wild forest, and going 100 li or so, we come to Kukkutapādagiri, the Cock's-foot Mountain. It is also called Gurupāda giri. The sides of this mountain are high and rugged, the valleys and gorges are impenetrable. Tumultuous torrents rush down its sides, thick forests envelope the valleys, whilst tangled shrubs grow along its cavernous heights. Soaring upwards into the air are three sharp peaks; their tops are surrounded by the vapours of heaven, and their shapes lost in the clouds. Behind these hills the venerable Mahā-Kāsyapa dwells wrapped in a condition of Nirvāna. People do not dare to utter his name, and therefore they speak of the 'Guru-pāda' (the venerable teacher).....Tathāgata, his work of conversion being done, and just on the point of attaining Nirvāna, addressed Kāsyapa and said '.....The golden-tissued Kashāya robe given me by my foster-mother I bid you keep and deliver to Maitreya when he has completed the condition of Buddha.....'

"Kāsyapa having received this commission.....continued twenty years and then, in disgust at the impermanence of the world, and desiring to die he went towards Cock's-foot Mountain. Ascending the north side of the Mountain, he proceeded along the winding path, and came to the south-west ridge. Here the crags and precipices prevented him going on. Forcing his way through the tangled brushwood, he struck the rock with his staff, and thus opened a way. He then passed on, having divided the rock with his staff, and ascended till he was again stopped by the rocks interlacing one another. He again opened a passage through, and came out on the mountain peak on the north-east side. Then having emerged from the defiles, he proceeded to the middle point of the three peaks. There he took the Kashāya garment of Buddha, and as he stood he expressed an ardent vow. On this the three peaks covered him over; this is the reason why now these three rise up into the air. Now, therefore, on the top of the mountain is a stupa built."

In the travels of Sung-yun about 518 A.D. it is mentioned that the Kashāya robe of the Buddha was shown to pilgrims at the temple of the Religious Staff (somewhere near Jelalabad). This is the long upper

died robe worn by all monks over the left shoulder, the outward symbol of the brotherhood. It is often figured on sculptures, as in Fig. 5.

Sobhnāth Hill is fifteen miles in a straight line E.N.E. of Budh-Gaya, or by road about 17 miles from the east bank of the river where the pilgrim started from. It is about 1,000 feet high, the formation is of quartzite. The accompanying plan shows that it is made up of three spurs radiating from a central peak. It has three well defined peaks, namely, the N.E. peak on which the stupa is built, the rounded peak of the north-west spur and the rocky pinnacle of the south-west spur. The south-west spur has a double peak, or rather a pinnacle and a sharp precipitous ridge. In the outline here given from a photograph taken from the Gaya Nawada Road, the north-west peak covers this ridge. Seen from the top of the highest peak, the ridge and pinnacle appear as one. The north-east spur has no peak besides the main one; the rising shown on the map is less than half the height of the other three peaks. Round the base of the hill are many very old tanks said to number fifty-two; the largest of these covers $26\frac{1}{2}$ acres. At Bishenpur Tandwa and also near Hasra Jagdispur, two modern villages at the foot of Sobhnāth, are remains of old houses, either of which may be of Videha, the village, according to one Chinese account, near Cock's-foot Mountain. There are also some remains of stone foundations at the east end of Hasra Hill.

The route from Budh-Gaya is due east till Mohair hill is passed on the north, then turning N.E. the pilgrim would probably have proceeded till he came to the Kukutapāda Sangharāma in the tiny valley now known as Hasra Kol at the foot of Sobhnāth on the north side. From here he would ascend the mountain by the north path which starts from the little valley.

According to some Chinese accounts the Kukutapāda monastery was built by Asoka (see Eitel's Handbook to Chinese Buddhism) though probably the founding of the monastery by Asoka is as fabulous as the building of the tope on Sobhnāth by Ajatasatru as given in a Vinaya text quoted in Watters' book, "On Yuan Chwang." The King is said to have seen Kāśyapa seated inside the mountain, a legend which rather gives away the probability of his having founded the tope, besides the inner chamber and portico point to a much later date than Ajatasatru. There was also a Kukutarāma or Cock's Monastery, at or near Pātaliputra built by Asoka, and another near Kosambī, in the Buddha's time.

The pilgrim Fa Hien early in the fifth century puts Cock's-foot Mountain three li to the south of the Boddhi tree which is manifestly wrong, there being no hill near.

In Rockhill's Life of the Buddha derived from Tibetan works, it is stated that Kāśyapa ascended the southern peak of Kukutapāda mountain

and entered parinirvāna on the centre of the three peaks, and that Ajatasatru visited the spot and built a chaitya where Kāśyapa passed away. Nothing is said about the Kashāya robe or about the cleaving of the rocks. The southern route along the S.W. ridge is much the easiest ascent.

The path on north taken by the pilgrim now ends on the shoulder just below the summit of the north-west peak, which is reached by an easy climb through tangled shrubs. Here after a bit of level is a stiff climb on the west of the central peak, passing through clefts in the jagged sharp pointed rocks one arrives at the gorge between the central peak and the south-west ridge. The route pointed out to the pilgrim as taken by Kāśyapa, it seems continued somewhat further along the precipices of the south-west ridge. Proceeding through the gorge and emerging on the east, a rough stairway of boulders brings one to the summit of the north-east and highest peak. Here are the remains of a stupa made of huge bricks built on a platform of roughly hewn blocks about ten feet high. The platform measures 78 feet from east to west, the south side has fallen away, so the stupa may be approached now without going round to the east. The stupa had an inner chamber some ten feet square with stone coping at corners and an entrance with double portico on east, the pillars of the portico had fallen *in situ*, unfortunately they were carried off some years ago for the house of a baniya at a neighbouring village, two have been recovered and two were broken in transit down hill. Round about lie small broken bits of bas-reliefs with figures of Buddha, a door lintel with mortice holes for iron bands, and the remains of another pillar hacked in pieces. The broken image shown in fig. 12 was found here some years ago half buried.

The little valley of Hasra Kol north of Sobhnath is still strewn with broken Buddhist sculptures, a sketch map of it and its mounds, the remains of the monastery and other buildings is given in Vol. VIII of Archaeological Survey Reports, 1872.

Three fine images first noticed by Mr. Beglar in this report were found in mound K in or about 1867 when they were removed to the village Bishenpur, together with the back of the throne, the pedestal with inscription and two broken parts of another pedestal with carved lions, also a small panel. Here these remains lay in a rude tumbledown shanty, till some two years ago, when they were removed to their present site as shown in Fig. 3. The three principal images occupy the same relative position they held in the valley, only now face east instead of north. They together form the Tri-ratna or Three Gems of the Present, the Past and the Future Buddhas, Avalokita, Sakya Muni and Maitreya. All three images have in the hair the Ratna or Gem ornament; this also appears on the back

of the throne and is the sole ornament of the pedestal with inscription. The nose and fingers of the Buddha which is five feet high, have been cut off. The inscription, the usual Buddhist formula (See Rhys Davids' Vinaya texts S.B.E. Vol. XIII) is stated by Dr. Stein to be in characters of the 9th or 10th century. The figure is in the unchangeable pose and the hands in the witness attitude.

Avalokitesvara (The Looking Down Lord) on Buddha's right has a small image of his spiritual father Amitabha in his hair, he holds in his left hand the full blown rose lotus (*Nelubium speciosum*) and with his right hand he makes the gesture of the blessing of fearlessness, which reassures the faithful. Maitreya (The Loving One) on Buddha's left has a stupa in his hair and holds in his left hand a branch of the Champa (*Michelia Champaca*), his special attribute. It is suggested in Grünwedel's *Mythologie du Bouddhisme* that the stupa in hair on statues of Maitreya represents the stupa on Cock's-foot Mountain. These two images are in the "Mahārājālaya" pose which M. Foucher in his *Iconographie Bouddhique* (referring to an image of Manjusri) translates "dans la pose pleine d'aisance d'un roi." These two Bodhisattvas occur several times with the Buddha at Budh Gaya but always standing as attendants, which makes the pose given here all the more remarkable.

The back of the throne represents the favourite jackal Jātaka, the story of which is given in full in Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 52-54. The panel with the eight figures standing under trees represents the seven Buddhas of the past and Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, the latter being crowned and holding a Champa branch. A similar but much better bas-relief from Budh-Gaya is in the Calcutta Museum in which each Buddha has his special tree; here all are alike. Below the central figure is a bas-relief of the Seven Precious Things in the following order:—The Horse Treasure, the wondrous Gem, the wonderful Adviser, the wonderful Treasurer, the Pearl among Women, the conquering Wheel, the Elephant Treasure. See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* and S.B.E. Vol. XI Great King of Glory Sutra. The photo only shows one part of the lion pedestal as when the images were set up the other was missing; it has since been recovered and inserted.

Among the numerous broken statues is another image of Avalokita standing on a lotus, with six arms, shown in Fig. 4. At the foot of the steps at Pret Sila, five miles from Gaya, is one exactly like it, only rather larger, being 3 feet high, Fig. 4. The image of Amitābha is in the hair, above is inscribed the Buddhist creed (the inscription of the Bishenpur image differs). Curls of hair hang down his shoulders. In the right hand he holds (1) a rosary, (2) the Wish Granting Jewel, (3) the lowest hand is in the

charity attitude. On the left he holds (1) the Snare, (2) the Rose Lotus, (3) An anointing Vase. The attendant on right is Tārā, his consort, with blue lotus and on left is the four-armed Bhrikuti.

Fig. 8 is of Tārā, The Saviouress, the female energy of Avalokita with the blue lotus (*Nymphaea Cyanea*). The right hand is in the gift-bestowing or charity attitude. The right leg rests on a lotus footstool. Of the inscription, which is too mutilated to decipher in full, "dānapati" can be made out, but part only of the names of the givers, a man and his wife represented below in adoration. She has two female attendants, on right Marici with blue lotus and vajra and on left Ekajātā (with one lock of hair).

Fig. 6 is of a headless statue in unchangeable pose, the hands now broken were evidently either in the teaching or best perfection attitude, it has an ornamented necklace so it may be presumed the head bore a crown or tiara and therefore the figure does not seem fittingly to represent Sākya Muni, for the Buddha Karita states that on leaving his home "he cut off his decorated tiara and banished all royal magnificence from his head." Below is the Dharma Chakra adored by two deer, the attendants are Avalokita on the right and Maitreya on the left holding a branch of the Champa (the flower not clearly shown in the photo). In the latter days of Buddhism in Magadha the Buddha was frequently represented as crowned, but this seemingly inappropriate innovation of the northern school is not out of keeping with the teaching embodied in "The Lotus of the True Law" (S.B.E. Vol. XXI) in which Sākya Muni is represented as the Allwise, the Father of the World, existing from all eternity to all eternity and invested with signs of royalty and grandeur. This statue must be of Sākya Muni for to no one else would Avalokita and Maitreya be accorded as attendants. Avalokita is an attendant on Amitābha but Maitreya is not. The inscription is the Buddhist creed.

In Fig. 5 is shown a round slab of stone $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet in diameter with inscription, a transcript of which by Mr. A. Venis is given in J.A.S.B. for September 1908. The inscription begins with Namō Budhāya (Adoration to Buddha) and ends with the Buddhist creed. Mr. Venis attributes it to the 12th century. It was found covered over with a thick layer of mud and over that a heap of debris which contained broken bits of statuettes of Buddha, it was in the centre of a building on a level with the floor; under where the stone lay is a nine inch square hollow shaft lined with lime plaster which must have been built up with the massive foundation, it reaches down to the bed-rock ten feet below. The shaft had got filled in with compact earth, on emptying this out nothing else was found. The foundation is of large bricks set in mud. Whatever it was that was built on this foundation had been removed, this mound having been one of the

quarries of neighbouring villages both before and since. It is only with difficulty that digging can be stopped, the spot being isolated and the quarrying for bricks having gone on for centuries. The inscription as Mr. Venis explains in his article is a dhāraṇī or spell by which the devotee may become identified with the Buddha, the centre picture is a graphic representation showing how this may be effected. From its position it would seem to have served as a sort of foundation-stone, the charm inscribed being intended to ward off from the house of the Bhikṣu or monk, Bipulā Karamati, evil influences of men, demons and adverse constellation. Some 15 feet north of this are the remains of an outer stone wall on which apparently stood a row of pillars, one of which fallen *in situ* up to a few years ago lay half buried, but has since been stolen. This outer wall was made up of fragments of an older building, part of the frieze shown in fig. 14. being built in it.

Two roughly hewn and unfinished images were found (fig. 5.) lying in the Hasra Kol indicating that most of the images were sculptured on the spot, veins of this chloritic rock run through the hill north of the valley where are the remains of an old quarry, a few images are made of fine sandstone which must have been brought from a very long distance, the pillars were no doubt quarried in the granite hills a couple of miles to north.

The two pillars shown in fig. 3 lay on mound G. from where they were dug out in or before 1872, they were removed to the village for safety some three years ago. They measure 9 feet 3 inches in height, 18 inches at base and 10½ inches at top. The pillars on Sobhnath measured 6½ feet in length, 12½ inches at base and 8½ inches at top.

The other panels at the back of the Tri-ratna including the two broken haloes were rescued from village shrines and houses as also were the two large broken figures in front of the pillars. The circular stone, carved like a lotus, shown in fig. 4. was found half way down the hill near the N.E. path where it must have fallen from the stupa of which it once formed part of the finial ornament. It in no way differs from the lotus ornament of a Shivaite temple.

Of the images mentioned by Mr. Beglar in 1872, the most important was one inscribed "Ye Dhamma Rāsi Māha Kāsyapa" which has been missing for very many years. He also mentions "a small inscribed female image of Akṣhobya" (?) possibly meaning the one shown in fig. 8. Of the broken reliefs and bases of statues at the narrow eastern end of the valley referred to by Dr. Stein, every single piece has been carried off by villagers as well as the broken relief of a headless Buddha with four panels on the base also mentioned by him.

Mr. Beglar also mentions a mutilated figure on mound G. This was made over by me in 1907 to the Collector of Gaya for transmission to the Calcutta

Museum, where it now rests on the steps. This is a male figure in three pieces standing on a lotus, the head dress is broken and so are the arms, apparently it had four, a long staff which rests on the ground is held in one of the right hands, the lion and elephant (jackal story) pattern is carved on one side, the other side is broken. The attendants are females, the one on right holds a fly whisk and lotus which grows from the base, the left one holds a lute, both are attended by smaller male figures with hands in adoration. The pedestal is ornamented with lotus scroll work. Outside the halo are Gandharvas and Garudas.

In the shrine close by is an image of Marici, the Resplendent, four feet in height standing on a lotus with three faces and eight arms. It has been in the village for several generations, though the shrine is recent. In the hair which is done up in a cone, is an image of Vairocana, the front face is human and has a tilak mark on forehead, on the left is a hideously deformed monkey-like face, on the right that of a sow. In her left hand she holds (1) the snare in front of her breast, the index finger raised, (2) a blue lotus flower, (3) a bow, (4) a thread. On right, the upper hand and implement is broken off, the second holds an elephant goad, with the third she draws an arrow from a quiver, and in the fourth she holds a needle. At each corner is one of her pig faced attendants Vattali, Vadāli, Varāli, and Varāha holding bows, etc. The broken figure in front represents Rāhu, the demon of eclipses, who drives Marici's chariot with its team of seven swine. The swine are absent in this figure though they are shown in other images of Marici in the district. The swine is of course, typical of productiveness. Dr. Waddell states in his "Lamaism" that Marici is incarnate in the abbess of the convent on the great Palti Lake.

In another shrine of the village is a four armed image two and a quarter feet high, of Kurukulā, a sometimes benign and sometimes vindictive form of Tārā, so called from the mountain of that name. The hair is done up in a cone, resembling a stupa and has an image of Amitabha in front, on forehead is a tilak mark. On left she holds a bow which like Kāma Deva's is made of flowers or lotus stalks, the other hand is in the blessing attitude in front of breast. On right she holds a blue lotus and the upper hand is half closed as if drawing an arrow from behind. The pose is that just emerging from meditation. This is in fairly good condition and well carved. In both these images it is remarkable that the blue lotus appears to be the flower given instead of the Asoka (*Jonesia Asoka*) the special attribute of Marici and Kurukulā as given in Foucher's *Iconographie Bodhique*, also in the former the human like face is on left and the needle in right, the reverse of the image in the Calcutta Museum. The flower in the Marici is very worn but resembles that held by Kurukulā.

The broken image, Fig. 12, is of interest as it was found on the stupa on Sobhnāth. The goose, the sacred bird of Brahmā upon which Brahmā rides and the attributes held by the attendants indicate that the central missing figure was probably Brahmā. The same attributes are held by the four-handed single headed, fat male figure in panel with broken halo on left of Buddha's head (Fig. 3) and which may be a Buddhist representation of Brahmā. In the panel below the goose also figures. This statue appears to have been modified in later times, the attributes of attendants slightly altered, that on right hand to represent the Trisul or the mace of Shiva and that in left hand to represent the lingam and yoni, the alteration has been clumsily done. The inscription on broken image has the word "Dharmoyam" and just above this is what looks very like a lingam.

Fig. 11 is of Sarasvati who according to Grünwedel in his "Mythologie du Bouddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie" is the Sakti of Manjusri. Dr. Waddell, however, states that Manjusri is a celibate Bodhisattva. In the Vedas she is the goddess of streams and of speech, in the Puranas the Sakti of Brahmā, goddess of wisdom and creator of the Sanskrit language. Here she holds the Vina or lute, the Book of Wisdom and a rosary. In the inscription the word "dharmoyam" is decipherable meaning "this is the religious act," but the name of the devotee is illegible. This was found ten years ago by a village boy on Sobhnāth. It may be that the stupa was adapted in later years to serve as a Brahmanical temple, there appears to have been a drain on west such as is usually seen in temples to Shiva, the villagers speak of it as a temple of Mahādeo. An image of Brahmā would not necessarily be out of place in a Buddhist shrine for he is so frequently mentioned in Buddhist treatises. The lion shown below which is identical with the lion on the broken pedestal shown in Fig. 3 is not appropriate to Sarasyati as a Hindu Goddess but is perfectly appropriate to Sarasvati as the Sakti of of Manjusri, Buddhist images of Sarasvati are very rare and even Hindu images are very uncommon. The book, rosary and lute are common to both Buddhist and Hindu conceptions, though only the lute is shown in the Tibetan representation in Pander's Das Pantheon.

There are also some distinctly Brahmanical remains in the village, namely, bas-reliefs of Doorga slaying Mahesha, Shiva and Pārvati, and Ganesh. On the hill north of the valley is a large lingam. These are not well executed and appear to be of much later date.

Within a few miles from Sobhnāth are the villages Kurkihār and Punāwan. Many very fine images still exist at Kurkihār but of the remains noticed at Punāwan by General Cunningham in 1861-2 almost everything has been carried off.

Gurpā hill is a long narrow line of gneiss N.E. to S.W. in direction with no radiating spurs, it is about 1,000 feet high situated 20 miles E.S.E. of Budh-Gaya. It is covered with tangled shrubs and bamboo, from near the centre arises abruptly a huge mass of bare rock for 250 to 300 feet above the vegetation. To N.E. the ridge gradually slopes to the plain, at S.W. is a dome-like peak much lower than the centre one. Neither from below nor from the top of the peak can any resemblance to a cock's foot be made out, either in the shape of the hill or in the lines of cleavage or position of the several boulders. From the railway station a walk of 10 minutes through the jungle brings one to the path up the hill on the north side. Forty minutes ascent brings one to the S.W. corner of the peak where the perpendicular mass of rock on one's front and left would bar all progress were it not for natural fissures. Immediately facing the traveller is carved a rude outlined unfinished standing Buddhist figure about 3 feet long (G.). On the left is a row of small mud shrines daubed with red paint.

A little to the left of the outlined figure is a cleft in the rock some 4 feet wide in a N.E. direction met at right angles at 40 feet by another cleft ending in a sheer precipice. On the right of the figure there is a cleft right through the hill 80 to 85 feet in a N.W. direction some 3 feet wide at entrance and diminishing to a few inches at the other extremity. At about 50 feet along this further progress is prevented by the gradual narrowing of the fissure, here is another cleft at right angles some 3 to 4 feet wide with steps made of stones wedged between the rocks. This passage after nearly 30 feet turns again at right angles and after about 40 feet emerges on a level space of bare rock at the N.W. corner of the peak. The N.E. corner can only be reached by passing over the centre boulder (A.)

On this level space rests a huge boulder (F.) which shuts out the light from the cleft just come through. Stooping down and passing underneath it one comes on a square tank cut in the rock open to the sky, which is a little over a foot deep. This is filled with water in the rains. The tank measures 8 feet by $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet and has a ledge or step on three sides, which was most probably made to hold a stone or wooden covering in place to prevent evaporation. Close by are three Buddhist carvings already described by Mr. Banerji. Returning to the N.W. corner one proceeds over boulders by roughly cut steps in the rock to the highest point of the peak, on which are two shrines; one is 5 feet square and the other slightly larger. They are roughly built, one of cut sand-stone blocks and the other of huge bricks. Each shrine contains Buddhist images and a stone slab with the impression of 2 feet; the larger slab measures 2 feet 2 inches square. The feet are ornamented with fish, lotus, dharma chakra, thunder bolt, conch shell, a

covered vase, and other symbols. There are also some inscriptions which are referred to by Mr. Banerji.

Of the images in the shrines, the largest 2 feet 2 inches in height, is a crowned Buddha, another rather smaller is Buddha in the pilgrim attitude with attendants on either side one of whom holds an umbrella over him. A third image is of Buddha in the teaching attitude, there are figures in adoration below and on either side smaller figures of Maitreya as Buddha with hands in teaching attitude, sitting in the European style. There are also small bas-reliefs of Tārā and Avalokita and numerous still smaller images of Buddha, all much weathered, none of any particular interest. On the boulders B, C and D are a few broken pedestals and damaged votive stupas.

A glance at the rough sketch map Fig. 15 will show that the top of the peak is cleft and weathered into several boulders. The one with the shrine is higher by 2 or 3 feet than B, C and D and considerably higher than E. Each of these five blocks is fairly level on top so that they in no sense "form three sharp peaks," but from the platform on N.W. and from below appear as one. It may be mentioned here that the story repeated to the writer of the article referred to by a railway guard, that the engineer on construction work found a skeleton in the tank is entirely unfounded.

The position of Gurpā hill corresponds with the account given by the pilgrim Ma Tuan-lin some centuries later than Hiuen Tsiang. This pilgrim puts Cock's-foot Mountain 100 li S.E. of the Bodhi tree (Watters) but he also states that he went from here to Yashtivana 100 li N.W. of Cock's-foot Mountain, that would be back at the Bodhi tree. He may have meant N.E., but his distance cannot easily be reconciled either, as Yashtivana is over thirty miles from Gurpā. It is 15 to 17 from Sobhnāth. The identification of Yashtivana with Jethian or at least of some spot very near it, made by General Cunningham and Dr. Stein can hardly be doubted. This does not however affect the question endeavoured to be answered here, that Sobhnāth and not Gurpā was the site shown to Hiuen Tsiang. It is quite possible that in late Buddhist times Gurpā may have been a rival site, shown to pilgrims, among others to Ma Tuan-lin as the restingplace of Kāsyapa and the cleavages in the rock pointed out as having been cleft by him; the remains at Gurpā belong to a very late and decadent period of Buddhist art. This hill may have been called Gurupāda, which got corrupted into Gurpā, but it should be noted that near by are several similar names—Gurtopi, Guriata, Guriawan, Gurau, Gurail and Gursari. The inscriptions of Gurpā are all on pieces of stone easily carried. None have been found cut on the rock itself, so they are useless as indicating the age of Gurpā as a sacred place. The bricks and stones of the two shrines obviously belonged to some other building and there are no signs of any stupa ever having existed on the peak itself.

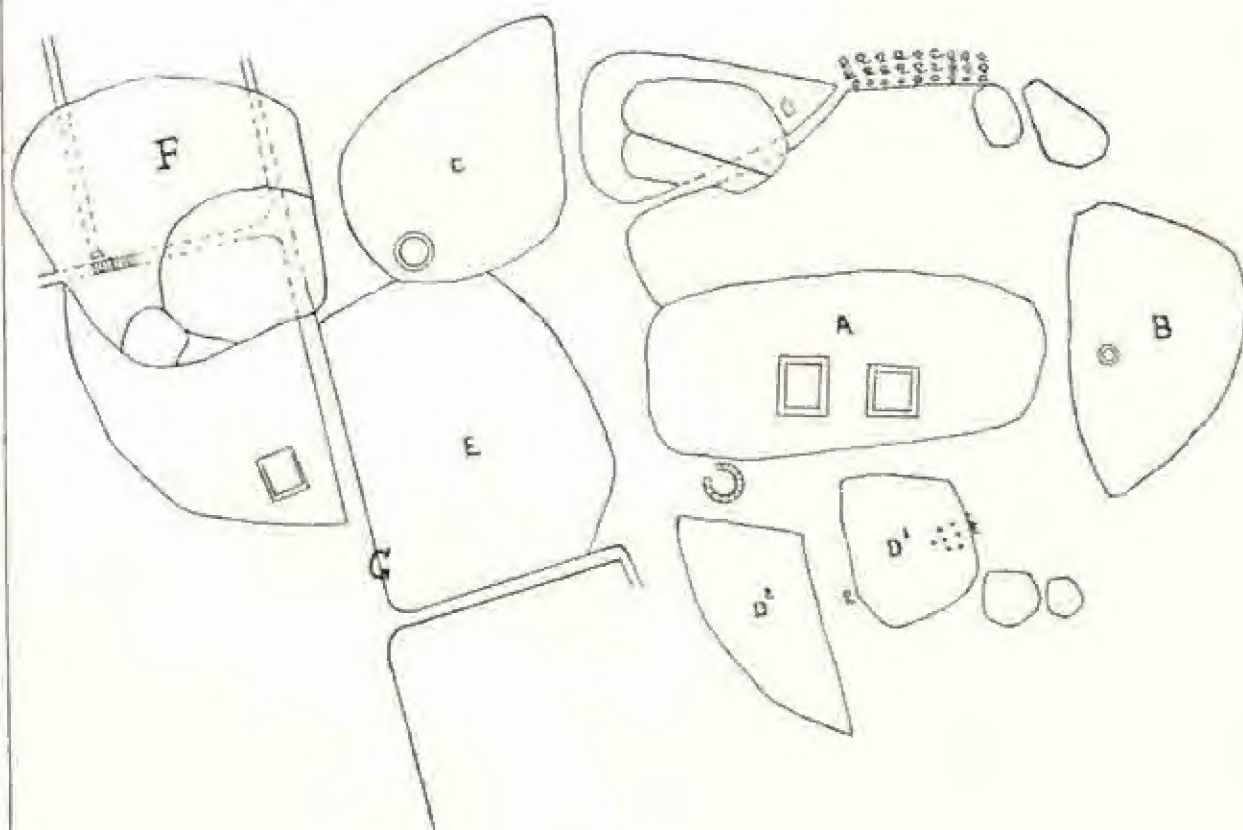
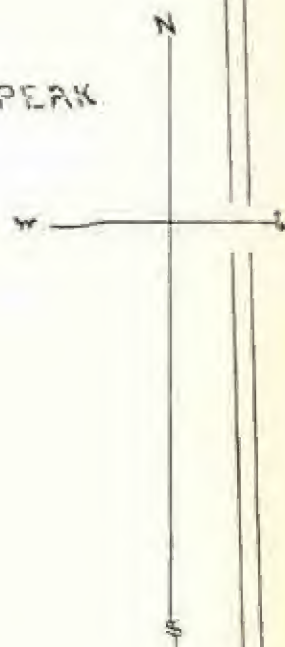
The passages in the rock do not answer to Hiuen Tsiang's description and do not lead in the right direction. Moreover, that pilgrim says Kāsyapa was stopped by the rocks interlacing each other, but this term does not in the least apply to the rocks at Gulpā while it does apply to those of Sobhnāth, where the sharp jagged edges of the nearly vertical strata appear to cross each other like a network.

Watters' translation runs :—" So going up the north side of the Cock's-foot Mountain and thence to its south-west ridge where there were steep precipices . . . he (Kāsyapa) opened a way by which he reached the summit emerging on the north-east side." This exactly applies to Sobhnāth, it does not apply to Gulpā at all, which, as already stated, is one long narrow ridge the S. W. end of which has no precipices but terminates in a dome-like peak. Again, according to Watters' translation, " the mountain still retains the dorsal triple elevation," which cannot mean that the three peaks closed over Kāsyapa and became as one, which is the only explanation that can be offered for Gulpā. All round is still a desolate jungle and no remains of any Buddhist sites have been found such as are stated by I. Tsing and other Chinese pilgrims to have existed in the immediate neighbourhood of the celebrated and sacred Cock's-foot Mountain.

A. W. KEITH.



ROUGH — GROUND — PLAN
 SF — GURPA — HILL — CENTRE — PEAK
 Scale — 32' = 1"



Capt. J. McClary's Earlier Privateering Career.

I. GENERAL MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE AT MACAO 1780-81.

1780. O. C. 10th April. No. 20.

TRANSLATION of CHOP received the 23rd of September from Cochin China by a Portuguese who came from that place.

THE Mandarin Tao Koon Kong, Governor and Lieutenant of the King of Tonquin in Cochin China, &c.

PUBLISHED for the Information of all Men that in the 6th Moon of the preceding year (August 1778) two English ships entered the Port of this Empire called Da Lang, the name of the Captain of the larger vessel was *Aaron* (Hutton). In the smaller one came a Mandarin who declared himself to be of the Royal Family Koungton and his name Laptu, the above-mentioned requested the Freedom of the Port with Liberty to Trade there, which being granted they fixed their Habitation in the quarter of the City called *Thant Haplo* hiring a house of a woman whose name was Le the Sun. The Mandarines had not yet fixed the Duties of the Port but bargained for sundry Merchandises out of the English Ships which were neither paid for or carried to their Warehouses, when the English Captains, induced thereto by a flying report of Hostilities, embarked precipitately and carried their vessels without the Mouth of the Bar. On the 22nd of the 9th Moon (10th of November) the Governor having noticed of this unexpected resolution, sent on the 25th day of the same Moon to visit the house and merchandise which the Strangers had disembarked, and the same day some of the people came from ship to the same place but did not converse with those of the Mandarin.

On the following Day, the 26th of the 9th Moon, the Governor dispatched two Gallies to transport a large Piece of Artillery and some other other Cochin Chinese Arms to the King of Tonquin at Ke Cho his capital. The two English Vessels, which had anchored at the Mouth of the Bar, fired their large Guns at the Gallies as they passed and killed six people, they then sent some armed people to the shore who burnt five vessels belonging to the Tonquinese which were stationed as a Guard. Afterward two Boats passing from the English Ships to the Shore were fired upon by the Guard, one of which was destroyed and five people, together with the Goods and Arms on board taken. On the 11th Day of the 10th (Moon 29th November) the English hoisted a White Flag and the same night sailed from Cochin China to their own country.

The five people taken in the Boat are detained as Prisoners of War, provided with all necessaries expecting some ship may come from their country to this Port to whom the said prisoners will be delivered, and Payment made for the amount of the goods which were left on shore, deducting nevertheless what may be due by way of fine for their having killed six vassals of Tonquin.

Also be it made known to the Captains Laptu and Astran that they may with all security come to Cochín China to receive the Money that is due to them, and they shall be treated with all kindness and friendship.

Given this day of the 7th Moon (23rd August) of the 40 Year of the present reigning Hang Kong (1779.)

1782. O. C. 8th April. No. 8.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ENGLISH COMPANY.

In the last ships of your nation, which passed here in their way to China, ten slaves belonging to different inhabitants of this city made their escape, and the Captains of the said ships, committing a base action, received them. As this theft is not the first which these and other Captains of your nation only have committed, at the same time the ships of other nations lie here, have never to this time been guilty of so unworthy a proceeding which could in any wise disgrace their respective nations, I am under the necessity of acquainting you that it is a duty incumbent on you to use your utmost endeavours to obtain a restitution of these slaves, whereby you will clearly prove yourselves not acquainted with the business, and are moreover bound in future to prevent any damage which may happen to the great disgrace of the English nation.

(Sd.) FRANCISCO XAVIER DE CASTRO.
(Portuguese Governor of Macao.)

1782. O. C. 8th April. No. 9.

MACAO,
10th December 1780.

Francisco de Paula Miranda bought an English merchantship in your City and came hither in search of permission to hoist the Portuguese flag on board her, by virtue of the power invested in me I granted him that liberty, and he, on his return to Canton, carried with him a part of the Company of another ship he has here, and manning her with them, at the same time hoisted his colours.

The said Francisco Paula Miranda now writes me that, on the 3rd instant, 60 Englishmen armed came on board his ship in boats, breaking open his hatchways and throwing down cabins, and after committing these with other insolent acts of piracy, took on board their own ships 14 Portuguese sailors when he complained to you as the representatives of your nation of this insolent and barbarous proceeding, that you made little account of it, although it was incumbent on you to have taken very particular notice of an insult committed against a flag of an allied nation, using every possible precaution in a case of so much consequence.

I protest to you, Gentlemen, in the strongest terms that if in case you do not make the most ample satisfaction, you must be responsible for all consequences that may follow the just, necessary, and indispensable revenge which I am bound to take on an occasion where the Flag of my Sovereign is affronted which I would rather lose a thousand lives than consent to. And be assured of this as well as the hindrance was obliged to be of to an irregularity of a Captain of one of your ships, in raising seamen, taking them out of ships belonging to this place, and about to leave it, and also the outrage of privately seducing the very slaves of the inhabitants of this place on board your ships, are contrary to the Law of Nations and treaties existing between two nations in friendship with each other.

I persuade myself that, after reflecting seriously on the well-founded reasons laid before you, you will give compleat and sufficient remedy to everything according to my wishes.

(From Portuguese Governor of Macao.)

1782. pp. 921-923. O. C. 8th April. No. 10.

MACAO, 20th December 1780.

With the advice of insolent proceedings of some private Captains of Merchants' ships and others of the same rank, in contempt of the Flag of the King of Portugal, whose meanest Vassal I am, I wrote to you Gentlemen, protesting that I should exact satisfaction for the said insult and hold you answerable to the different Courts for all consequences: to which I have hitherto received no answer and being further informed that the said unworthy individuals entered the house of the said Francisco Paula Miranda, continuing irregularities which disgrace your nation, transgressing the limits of those Laws and good Government which preserve the amity between the Crowns, this and whatever may be necessary, I shall do in order that you, Gentlemen and the Trading ships which pass by here, may feel my just resentment, and thereby the insolences which you have been guilty of, and may be punished as well as those you continue to commit, which can only be avoided by your giving me compleat and entire satisfaction.

(Sd.) FRANCISCO XAVIER DE CASTRO.

1782. Pp. 925-927. O. C. 8th April. No. 12.

CANTON,

December 22nd, 1780.

SIR,

Your two letters of the 10th and 20th of December are written in a style which authorizes us to assure you that we shall return unanswered any others that we may receive from you, unless they are conceived in terms of decency and propriety.

You assume the air of Viceroy of the Province of Canton, instead of Governor of the dependent city of Macao. What right have you, Sir, to interfere with the government of this Province? We are not accountable to the Portuguese in this port.

Although we do not think it necessary to enter into the merits of the complaint in your first letter, we are to inform you that the fact you mention never existed. The Flag of your King has not been insulted. The ship boarded by our boats was the *Eliza* English country ship. She entered and paid her port charges as such, and at the same time she was searched had never hoisted any but English colours. Neither the private bargain of two merchants, nor your private consent to it, could make her otherways to the public eye, till declared by hoisting the colours of your nation.

The complaint in your second letter of our people entering into the House of Mr. Francisco Paula Miranda, we never heard of till this moment. Mr. Miranda lives in the House of a Chinese Merchant, and not in a factory of his own.

We shall send copies of your letters and our answers to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay to be forwarded to Goa, that the Viceroy your Master may be a judge of the improper and unhandsome manner in which you have conducted yourself towards us.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Sd.) THOS. FITZHUGH,

THOS. BEVAN,

MATTW. RAPEL,

1782. Pp. 933-935. O. C. 8th April. No. 11.

MACAO,
9th January 1781.

GENTLEMEN SUPER-CARGOES OF THE ENGLISH COMPANY.

I received a letter from you in which you assure me in the strongest terms that the English Ship bought by Francisco de Paula Miranda in that City had never hoisted Portuguese colours to the day that the Captains of the English merchant ships were on board her to take the sailors which had run away from their ships and that you would write to the most illustrious and excellent Governor and Captain General of India complaining of two letters, which I was obliged to write to you on the presumption of the said Francisco de Paula Miranda's assurance that his ship had really hoisted the Portuguese Flag and that notwithstanding the said Captains had committed the violence of going on board, breaking the Hatchets and carrying his sailors bound away: had this been the case it was an insult to the Flag of my King for which I was bound to demand satisfaction, being persuaded Francisco de Paula Miranda would not have laid such a case before me had it not been matter of fact.

I am not surprised that you were displeased at my said letters founded as I said before on the account given me by Francisco de Paula Miranda although they did not contain anything to give offence, on account of the little knowledge you have of military obligations, your profession being entirely Mercantile, which is the reason you say I treated you in mine as if Viceroy of Canton, but I cannot help remembering a passage which you make use of in your letter, where you tell me, that even in Macao you are only subject to the Chinese Laws. I shall shew you the contrary whenever you may come here.

If you gentlemen wish to send duplicate or triplicate of your complaint please to send it hither as one of the Moradores ship, is nearly sailing to Goa.

(Sd.) FRANCISCO XAVIER DE CASTRO.

1782. Pp. 928-930. O. C. 8th April. No. 13.

DON FRANCISCO XAVIER DE CASTRO,

GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF MACAO.

CANTON,
14th January 1781.

SIR,

We have received your letter of the 9th instant, in which you inform us, you cannot help remembering a passage in our letter wherein we tell you that even in Macao we are only subject to the Chinese Laws. It would indeed, Sir, be no wonder if you should never forget such a paragraph, but give us leave at the same time to assure you we are incapable of writing one so rude and improper.

The terms we made use of, which are so strongly perverted in your letter, are as follows:—

"What right have you, Sir, to interfere in the Government of this Province? We are not accountable to the Portuguese in this part of the kingdom."

Our letter is dated at Canton which is a part of the kingdom of China you can have no pretention to assume a right of Government in. If any irregularities are committed here, the Viceroy of the Province is the person to control them; and not you, Sir, who if

aggrieved can have no other proper mode of redress, but that of remonstrance and petition to those in power.

Your having misunderstood our letter has betrayed you into an expression that cannot be taken but as a menace, which is what we do not suppose you deliberately intended.

We shall have no occasion to trouble you with any letters to Goa, as we shall send our packets to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, by one of our ships now in this port.

We are Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servants,
(Sd.) THOS. FITZHUGH,
THOS. BEVAN,
MATTH. RAFFER.

1782. Pp. 930-933. O.C. 8th April. No. 14.

CANTON,
27th October 1781.

SIR,

We have received your letter of 9th instant demanding the restitution of ten slaves, belonging to the different inhabitants of the city of Macao, who had made their escape, on board the three last ships, which passed by your port.

Your letter, Sir, is written in a style very different from that polite manner of address with which you received us, when we had the honor of waiting on you at Macao. A style, Sir, as improper for you to use to us, as it would be for us to let the sense we feel of it pass unnoticed.

You ought to have been very certain that our Captains used art, to decoy the slaves from their masters, or that they knew them to be slaves, before you made use of the harsh terms—theft and base action—and even had you known the fact to be as you have asserted, surely, Sir, we did not deserve to be told the circumstance in such language.

You have ventured, Sir, to affirm this is not the first thing of the sort and that our Captains only act in this manner, and you observe also that those of other nations have never been guilty of so unworthy a proceeding, which would have brought disgrace on their respective nations. As the accusation is general, we can only observe that this is the first time such an act has come to our knowledge. In answer to your observation we are of opinion that if a few inconsiderate, or even unjust acts, committed by individuals were to disgrace a nation, every nation would be continually liable to censure, but we conceive that no nation ought to be reproached with disgraceful conduct, unless those who have the power of redressing grievances, refuse to do justice when applied to.

You mention the necessity you are under of acquainting us, that it is duty incumbent on us to use our utmost endeavours to obtain restitution of the slaves, whereby we shall clearly prove ourselves not acquainted with this business. This, Sir, is the language of authority to people in a subordinate situation, which we trust you did not reflect on, when you pen'd the paragraph.

We are now to inform you, Sir, that on the receipt of your letter we inquired minutely into the business, and found that the ten Slaves you mention had gone on board the *York*, one of the East India Company's ships; the Captain of which ship assured us he would have sent them on shore again had he not been under sail for the river of Canton.

We immediately gave orders to have them secured; and made application to Mr. Francisco de Paulo Miranda, Chief Supra-Cargo, of the Portuguese ship *Neptune*, to take

charge of them, and convey them as soon as possible to Marao, there to deliver them to you. This he very obligingly undertook to do; and they were accordingly this day deliver'd to him on board a ship he purchased here. His receipt for them we have enclosed.

We are, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servants,
(Sd.) THOS. FITZHUGH,
THOS. BEVAN,
MATTW. RAPER.

2. CAPTAIN J. McCLARY AND THE *DODALAY*.

1782. Pp. 3388—3390. O.C. 24th October. No. 12.

SURAT,
13th April 1781.
(L.S.)

(No. 2.)

Translation.

I Egbert Nicholas Wearde, Secretary of the Dutch Factory at Surat, and in the quality authorised for the making of all publick acts, do hereby certify and acknowledge and that upon the oath done coming to my employment.

That the ship, The *Good Hope* belonging to Mr. Abraham Josias Sluyskin, second of this Factory, is marked in such a manner as appears in the List annexed.

That the Super-Cargoe of the said ship are born Dutchmen: the first Minhoived being Lieutenant Engineer in the Service of the States General, and the other in the actual Service of the East India Company and brother-in-law to the owner of the said ship.

That the Captain is a Portuguese, who has, since the year 1772, been with the Dutch, and employed in their Service.

That the second Super-Cargoe is an Armenian, who, since the year 1771, is under the obedience and protection of the States of the United Netherland Provinces. That the rest of the officers are Portuguese, except the youngest who is an Irishman, and that the remaining part of the ship's crew are Moors and Gentoos, subjects of the Great Mogul. That it was impossible for the owner of the said ship, the *Good Hope*, to fit out in another manner, by want of people and of the Dutchmen born. In token whereof I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal.

(Sd.) E. N. WEARDE,
Secretary.

For the Translation,

Corn: Van Citters.

1782. Pp. 3386-3388. O.C. 24th October. No. 11.

No. 1.

Translation of a Chop from the Tsongtsi, Folxam and Hoppe addressed to the Super-cargoes of the different European Nations.

A short time past, the Commander of the English Ship, lying at Whampoa, seized by violence on a Dutch Ship lately arrived, on pretence of a War between the two Nations and was taking her away, but we obliged him to restore the ship and all her cargoe.

As it is the first time a thing of this nature has happened, and as the offender pleaded ignorance of the laws and Customs of this Country, we have forgiven him; and have moreover, excused him the payment of Port charges; and ordered all the assistance that may be necessary for the repairing of his ship, and preparing her for the voyage.

This is to give notice to the Super-Cargoes of the different Nations, in order they may inform their countrymen that the Emperor will not suffer them to bring war into his dominions, and that whoever does so, in future, shall be treated as an enemy.

Dated the 46th year of the Emperor Kienling, 22nd day of the seventh Moon or September the 9th 1781.

A true Copy.

1781. Pp. 903-909. O.C. 8th April. No. 4.

This day the 27th October, 1781:—Appeared before the Council of the Netherland East India Company in Empire of China Francisco Perez, the Chief Mate, and Ricardo Jere Belle, the Gunner of a Dutch Private ship called *D'Goede Hoop*, commanded by Antonio Pires, destined from Surat hither, and now riding at Anchor, at the Bar of Whampoa in the river of Canton within the Forts which cover the river, and the said Bar, who by the request of the said Captain and the Supra Cargoes Messrs. Adrian Sebastian Van D' Graaff and Antony de Sille, verily under oath, sets forth and declares to be the truth. That, on the 17th of August last, the said ship was unexpectedly invaded at the said Bar of Whampoa by an English private ship commanded by Capt. McClary, called the *Dodaley*, who without delay took possession of the ship and handled her as enemy and carried away the ammunition, stores, and several other goods belonging to her cargo, on board of his own ship. That further he carried the said ship with the remaining of her cargo, down the river to the second bar and there remained under the disposition and order of the said Captain McClary, and after some time by a representation thereof, made to the Mandareens, the said ship was brought back again to Whampoa river, with her Gruff cargo, consisting chiefly of cotton and some other merchandise, and delivered over to the charge of her Commanding Officer, and by time to time restored a part of Artillery, Ammunition of war, and ship's materials, but hitherto has not restored the articles which he took away from the ship. [A long inventory of goods follows.]

Moreover, the said Captain McClary carried away a chest from the ship, which was in the Gun room secured with Iron hoops, and backed up by two heavy padlocks, and sealed up in five different places, which agreeable to the Invoice shewed to us, is consisting of some pulses and boxes of pearl and gold, marked and valued in the invoice. [Invoice follows of goods to value of Rs. 89,128.]

And which chest, pearl, and gold neither has been returned. THE DEPONENTS declare that the above-mentioned are Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as they were present when the Ship was taken and things carried away, taking their oath for the same in a due form.

To the TRUTH and confirmation of all which the Secretary of the Council have hereinto set his hand, and affixed the Hon'ble Company's Seal. This done and declared in the Dutch Factory at Canton, the Day and Year above written, the Minute is duly signed.

Quod Attester,

(Sd.) F. F. BEMANS,

Secretary.

A true Copy,

Hugh Parker.

1782. O.C. 5th February. No. 7A.

CANTON.

2nd November 1781.

WE the underwriter *Supra* Cargoes in Council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the United East India Company for the management of their affairs in China, protest against Mr. John McClary, Commander of the ship *Dodaley*, for all losses of goods, monies, demurrage for detention of ships, and every ill consequence that may (and we think will) attend his seizure of the Dutch ship *D'Goede Hoop*, and, after restoring the said ship with her Gross Cargo, detaining various stores and a chest containing pearl and gold invoiced at Rs. 89,128 56 as appears by deposition of Francisco Peres, the Chief Mate, and Ricardo Jose Bello, Gunner of the said ship, before the Council of *Supra* Cargoes for the Netherland East India Company, an attested copy of which has been delivered to us: and we protest for the following reasons:

Because by this act the neutrality of the port has been violated which the Company at all times have been most sollicitous of preserving.

Because by seizing the ship under Dutch colours and nearly executing his threat of taking her out of the river, Captain McClary made the Chinese feel that an individual, who had no further views of advantage from this trade, was out of their power, and that with respect to such a person they could not protect themselves from insult. To prevent, therefore, suffering from this mortification they averred that the trade of the Company and the persons of us their servants should be made answerable for the violent conduct of one over whom we had no controuls. We have, in consequence, received much trouble from the Mandareens, have been grossly insulted, expected by the First Magistrate of the Province to have been instigators and have been even in danger of being seized on by force and placed in the power of a petty officer of Government to be shown the indignity with which those kind of people treat us whenever they have it in their power—which have been already the bad consequences of Captain McClary's conduct.

Because our complaints to the Mandareens of being made answerable for faults we were neither guilty of nor could prevent have been treated with such disregard as affords us little hope we shall be able to avoid every great embarrassment to the Company's affairs, if other Commanders of private ships should be tempted to make seizures in future. The Chinese in a chop, which they have published on this occasion say: "that no such act of violence shall hereafter escape unpunished," but as their conduct in this instance is sufficient proof they cannot punish the offender, this declaration only serves to show that they are resolved to make those the sufferers whom they have in their power, and none can come so properly under this description as the Company in their trade and all who depend on it. We think that there is great reason to apprehend others will commit the like outrages as there cannot be a stronger inducement for men so inclined than being shown that great booty may be acquired here with impunity. Such are the motives that Captain McClary's seizure of the Dutch ship affords to our countrymen and to our enemies. It has given the fairest pretence to retaliate whenever the fortune of war or other accidents, shall allow them a superiority in this port.

Dated in Canton, this second day of November, in the year of Our Lord one thousand and seven hundred an eighty-one.

O. C., 24th February (B).

MR. DON FRANCIS XAVIER DE CASTRO,

GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF MACAO.

We have received your Lordship's letter, wherein you complain of Captain McClary—having publicly declared that he would revenge himself against the proprietors of Macao vessels; Your Lordship is also pleased to say, that we should prevent his acting as a pirate; otherwise it may hurt the friendly understanding that subsists between our nations:—Your Lordship has protested against us, making us responsible for all damages, that may be done to any of the vessels, belonging to your town:—We in answer, have to reply to your Lordship, as we once before had the honour to mention, that Captain McClary, as well as other traders from the Coast, are entirely independant of us,—and of course we have not the least authority over them.

When he captured a Dutch vessel, that, was laying at Wampoa, we protested against him, and made a proper representation of the affair to the Company, as also to the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council of Bengal—who, we are confident, will take the affair into consideration.

Should he act as a pirate against the Portuguese, we presume your Lordship is sensible, that there are laws by which he will be tried, and which Governments at all our settlements are well acquainted with, and consequently will bring him to account, if application is made, and in such case the inhabitants of Macao should address their grievances to Government.

We are very sorry we cannot make out a better interpretation of your Lordship's letter to us; than you will make us responsible for the conduct of Captain McClary,—that your Lordship will make use of such violence as your think proper, for whatever he may be guilty of.—This is a phrase that much surprises, that your Lordship should think of any such thing, when your Lordship well knows that we have no manner of cause to be any ways partial to Captain McClary:—If we were invested with power to do justice, to hinder injuries to be done, we would then take such necessary steps as we judged most prudent.

As your Lordship has thought proper to remind us of the consequences, permit us the liberty to say that the inhabitants of Macao, should reflect very seriously what would be the result, if they were to molest us, or, put a stop to the commercial transactions of the Company, in the power of whom they are exposed.

We have the honor to be,
(SIGNED) JAS. BRADSHAW, &c., SUPERCARGOES
A true translation,
STEPHEN SHEA.

(DUPLICATE.)

1782. O. C. 3th April. No. 2.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.

CANTON,
Nov. 14th, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 14th of December last, and, addressed to the Council of the year 1778. We take this opportunity of

informing you that seventeen of the Company's ships were dispatched to Europe from this port in the course of the last season, and that we are now preparing cargoes for sixteen, which it is probable may be here this year, although four only are yet arrived. For procuring such considerable investments we have not of late received any supplies from Europe; and have hitherto depended on the remittances made here either in bullion or merchandise from different parts of India. These, indeed, for some years past have been amply sufficient but this war and the disastrous situation of these countries have so increased the charges and hazards of commerce, and so much diverted to other purposes the funds which used to support it, that our supplies from that source have been in the present season very inadequate to our necessities, and we have little prospect that they will be more so, until peace restores the trade of India to its usual security. We, therefore, entreat, Gentlemen, that you will consider our situation, and afford us what assistance you can from Bengal, for a want of funds at this place would be more peculiarly detrimental to the interests of the Company in the present crisis, when their ships are sent here with so much hazard, and those of our Enemy are prevented from coming to the port which as it lessens the competition in Europe, renders the trade extremely profitable.

We beg leave to lay before you the following circumstances relative to "Mr. McClary, as they have happened in consequence of a Commission which that gentleman has received from you.

On the 20th of last May, Mr. McClary, Commander of the ship *Dodslay* from Bengal, stopped a sloop that was going to Manilla from the port of Macao. He was himself on shore at that place, and informed the Governor that he had ordered his officers to bring her into the harbour that she might be submitted to examination, having himself good reason to suspect she was Spanish property. Notwithstanding this fair procedure on his part, he was seized on, and confined to most rigorous imprisonment, and by that means compelled to give an order for her being delivered up without examination. This order was carried to the officer, who commands the *Dodslay*, which induced him to bear down immediately to the sloop in order to comply with it, but there was such a violent gale of wind that before it could be fully executed, the sloop was wrecked on a lee shore, and the ship likewise nearly lost. Mr. McClary was, on account of this accident, detained in his prison for two months, until by harsh treatment and threats of being delivered up to the Chinese on purpose to be executed as a pyrate, the Magistrate of Macao extorted from him a payment of 50,000 Spanish Dollars, on pretence of that being the value of the sloop which was lost.

On the 17th August, as the *Dodslay* was lying at Whampoa together with a country ship from Surat under Dutch colors, Mr. McClary, hearing the news of a war with the states, seized on the above mentioned ship as a lawful prize, notwithstanding that all nations have respected the neutrality of this port in former wars, and persevered in the outrage, although we informed him how prejudicial in might be to the company, until (to all appearances) he had made a compromise with the Chinese Mandarins, who were very apprehensive of being disgraced in their contest with him, that we think was dishonorable to both parties and of a pernicious tendency to our affairs. We have accordingly protested against him for his conduct, and enclose our protest to shew you what ill consequences it has had and what embarrassments we may suffer from the like happening in future. We likewise enclose an account of the particulars of this transaction as given to us by the Supra Cargoes of the Dutch Company.

Enclosed you will find a Price Current and List of ships.

	We have, etc.,
THOS. FREEMAN	JAS. BRADSHAW
THOMAS KNYCK VAN MICROF	GEO. ROGERS
	ABR. RICHMOND
	HENRY BROWNE
	JOHN HARRISON
WIL. FITZHUGH	GEORGE CUMMING
	CHARLES EDWARD PIGOU.

1782. O.C. 8th April No. 7.

Copy. Enclosed with above.

TO D. FRANCISCO XAVIER DE CASTRO,

GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF MACAO.

CANTON,
6th December 1781.

SIR,

We have received your very extraordinary letter of the 1st instant, complaining of some threatening discourses held by Captain McClary in a public manner concerning his intention to seize the ships of Macao, telling us it is our duty to restrain him in his piratical practices, that it will break the unity between our nations, and professing that we shall be made answerable for whatever he may do against the ships of your city.

We must here repeat to you, in answer to this unmerited language what we mentioned on a former occasion, that Captain McClary, as well as the commander of every country ship is absolutely independent of us: we have therefore no authority to punish him for acts of violence that he has committed, much less to use force to prevent his executing the ill intentions that are imputed to him.

When lately he occasioned so much embarrassment by seizing a Dutch ship in this port, we protested against him, and have complained of his conduct both to the Company in England and their Government of Bengal, depending on these to bring him to punishment, and not presuming to inflict it ourselves. If Captain McClary commits an act of piracy against the Portuguese, you *must* know that there are laws which he cannot escape, and to the penalties of which the Government of his country in every part of the world will bring him, if proper application be made to it. It is to that the inhabitants of Macao must carry their complaints.

We are very sorry that we can give no interpretation to what is mentioned in your letter of making us answerable for Captain McClary's conduct but that you mean to retaliate on us whatever act of violence he may commit. This is language we wonder you should have made use of to us, whom you might have known could disregard it, and had we the power of using justice, or preventing injuries, there would not have been occasion of threats for an inducement to such acts of our duty.

As you thought proper to warn us of consequences, we beg leave to add that the inhabitants of Macao should also seriously consider what those may be that will follow the

molesting of us, and impeding the affairs of the Company, to whose power they are now everywhere exposed.

We are, etc.,
 (Signed) JAS. BRADSHAW.
 " GEO. ROGERS.
 " HEN. BROWNE.
 " JNO. HARRISON.
 " GEO. CUMING.
 " ALEX. BRUCE.
 " CHAS. EDWD. PIGOUE.
 " DAVID LANCE.
 " THO. K. V. MICROP.
 " WM. FITZHUGH.

1782. O.C. 8th April. No. 3.

CANTON,
 24th December 1781.

To

THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL,
 FORT WILLIAM

GENTLEMEN,

We did ourselves the honor of addressing you by a Portuguese ship from Macao, a duplicate of which letter we now forward. We likewise transmit you copies of letters that passed between the Governor of Macao and Select Committee last year which they purposed to have sent to Bombay with a complaint of the indignity they had been treated with, in order to obtain redress from Goa by means of an application from the gentlemen of that Presidency. No opportunity having presented itself, this complaint has been deferred till now, when we take the liberty of making it to you, Gentlemen, likewise; and at the same time send you a copy of a letter we have recently received from the Governor of Macao, with our answer.

These having arisen from the circumstances which we informed you of in our last letter concerning Captain McClary, who has since fitted out his ship in a warlike manner with a professed intention of cruising against the Dutch, and it was in the midst of his preparations that we received the above threatening letter.

Captain McClary stopped the sloop going out of Macao, as we informed you in our last. We are told that it was said in the Senate's deliberations on the subject that if he could not be compelled to make restitution, the supercargoes were in his power, and might be forced to do it. At that time we took no notice of so absurd a pretention; but connecting this circumstance with the Governor's letter, we are inclined to believe that these lawless people would not scruple to attempt extorting from us an equivalent, should Captain McClary put in execution the threats which they attribute to him.

Such are the mortifications and insults to which we are exposed at Macao, where the Chinese force us every year to pass some months, and we beg that you will represent our situation to the Government of Goa, and obtain for us some privilege which may place us out of the power of the people of Macao, as consequences may follow our being left in so neglected a situation that will prove very embarrassing to the affairs of the company,

for should it happen that we were imprisoned by the infatuation of these people, and the Chinese to refuse interference, we know of no alternative but using the force of our ship to release us, which is a predication so highly unbecoming our station that we are extremely sorry there is a possibility we should find ourselves in it.

We have mentioned the above circumstance to the Court of Directors, which we hope will draw their attention to our situation, which we cannot but feel to be disgraceful to us as individuals and to the Company as our employers; for in no part of the world, we believe, are English subjects, who are in any trust, left so devoid of protection. We beg leave to add that we do not doubt but an application from you, Gentlemen, will obtain redress more effectually from Goa than could be afforded us from anywhere else, because Macao is an immediate subordinate of that place, and the ministry of Lisbon are so much ashamed of the dependent state it is in with regard to the Chinese that they have been known, upon several occasions, to refuse taking cognizance of any representations concerning it.

We enclose you a packet just received from St. Helena by the *Hastings*.

We have, etc.,

JAS. BRADSHAW.

GEO. ROGERS.

HENRY BROWNE.

JOHN HARRISON.

GEORGE CUNNING.

ALEX. BRUCE.

CHARLES EDWARD PIGOU,

DAVID LANCE.

THOMAS KUYCK VAN MIEROP.

WM. FITZHAUGH.

P.S.—We have been under the necessity for want of a more direct conveyance to send you sundry stores for Fort Marlboro', as you will see by the inclosed list. Also a packet—a bill of lading.

Supercargoes at Canton.

1783. O. C. 24th February (A).

MACAO,

1st December 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—Supercargoes of the Hon'ble East India Company.

I have been informed that Captain McClary is at Wampoa,—and that he has publicly declared at Canton, that he intends to go on a cruise against all vessels belonging to the inhabitants of this town in revenge to the President and Members of the Senate, for having made him refund the amount of the sloop's Cargo which he very unjustly captured.

I now think it incumbent on me to inform you, Gentlemen, that many disagreeable consequences may follow, in case he executes, what he at present brags of;—which I have not the least doubt, as his past conduct is a convincing proof to me of his being a pirate; which indeed is the general opinion here and at Canton.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to observe to you, that after he had captured the Dutch ship that was at the Port of Wampoa, you were of the opinion that I now am;—and that if any of the Hon'ble Company's ships were to arrive, that Captain McClary would be taken into custody, and punished according to Law? Permit me to observe to you, Gentlemen, that

as the Hon'ble Company's Ships are arrived, and the said Captain, seemingly intends to continue as a pirate, I think this affair demands your most minute considerations.

It is very cruel that private merchants should suffer, and probably a misunderstanding arise, between two friendly nations, such as yours and mine, caused by a single individual, who is influenced by a mere blind ambition.

Now, Gentlemen, be assured that you undoubtedly remain responsible for all damages, occasioned by Captain McClary to Proprietors or Commanders of vessels sailing out of this Port.

And I now protest against you, Gentlemen, that you may take in time every necessary steps,—which you now may very easily do, as you have four of the Hon'ble Company's ships at an anchor, in the same port, with Captain McClary.

God preserve you Gentlemen for many years.

(Sd.) FRAS. X. DE CASTRO.

A true translation.

STEPHEN SHEA.

1782. P.P. 912-914, O.C. 5th April, No. 6.

MACAO.

December 1st, 1781.

Copy.

GENTLEMEN SUPRA CARGES OF THE NOBLE ENGLISH COMPANY:—

Being informed by some credible persons that Captain McClary, now with his ship at Whampoa, has declared in several Companies at Canton that he certainly designs to depart from said Port with intent to seize on some vessels belonging to this city, in revenge for the legal proceedings of the Senate thereof obliging him by a voluntary composition to make reparation for a Sloop with her Cargoes all the property of inhabitants of this City, which the said Captain had illegally captured, and by so doing occasioned her being lost. I am under the necessity of submitting to your consideration, the very serious consequences that may attend such an action, if the said Captain should be guilty of it, of which I cannot entertain the least doubt having been witness to the series of disorders which he has already committed in a manner truly piratical, as is notorious to every person both of this city of Canton, and to you Gentlemen in particular, as it was publicly mentioned here, at the time the said Captain had seized a Dutch Merchant Ship lying at Whampoa, the Port of the City of Canton, that if you had had any Company's ship at the said Port the said Captain should have been severely punished according to Law; now therefore that you have got the Company's ships, and the said Captain intends to continue his practical proceedings it is your duty to restrain him, as it is not right that a simple individual influenced by a blind ambition should occasion any difference between two nations in amity as ours are. You resting assured that you will be indispensably answerable in every respect for the disorders which the said Captain may be guilty of with respect to the vessels of this city, for which reason I protest against you, that you may take every necessary precaution, the power of execution being now in your hands, having 4 Company's Ships lying in the same Port, together with the said Captain McClary's ship, or at no great distance.

(Signed) D. FRANCIS X. DE CASTRO

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF ALL AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE KINGDOMS OF BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA AND PRESIDENT, ETC., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM AT CALCUTTA IN BENGAL AFORESAID.

Abraham Josias Shuysken, Senior Merchant in the Service of the Noble Netherlands East India Company, lately Second in the Council of the said Company's Factory at Surat and now a Prisoner of war by the Arms of the said English East India Company, most humbly complaining with due respect Sheweth unto your Honor, &c.

That some time on about the 22nd of April in the preceding year, which is almost two months before the commencement of hostilities between the English nation and the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands was publicly declared or even privately known at Surat aforesaid, your petitioner had fitted out and dispatched a ship called the *Good Hope* (De Goede Hoop) under the command of one Captain Anthony Pires, an Inhabitant of Surat aforesaid, laden with a Cargo of Merchandise for Canton in China, there to be sold for the account of your Petitioner by two supracargoes who went in the said ship, named Mr. Andriaan Sebastiaen van de Graaff and Mr. Antonio de Sille. And besides the Cargo of your Petitioner on board the said ship, there were also shipped by several Merchants of Surat aforesaid, Armenians and others, dwelling and trading under the protection of the said English East India Company, who as well as your Petitioner were unapprized of any such hostilities having broke out or being intended, sundry goods and among the rest a considerable quantity of Pearl, at Freight on your Petitioner's said ship, and the said ship having arrived in the safety some time on or about the third of August in the same year at the Bar of Whampoa in the River of Canton, while she was lying at anchor at the said Bar within the Forts which cover both the River and the Bar, on or about the 17th of August aforesaid, after she had been thus for the space of fourteen days or thereabouts laid up as in a Port of absolute security, and was quite unprepared for defence, having as usual when a ship is laid up only part of her crew on board, she was unexpectedly attacked and boarded by an English private Merchant Ship named the *Dadaley*, and commanded by one Captain McClary; who the said Captain McClary immediately took possession of your Petitioner's ship, and treated her as a public enemy, although she was within a free and neutral Port; which proceeding your Petitioner submits to your Honour, &c., and humbly insists the same is contrary to the good faith and the rights of nations, and that it deserves no better appellation than an Act of Piracy. And your Petitioner further Sheweth, that the said Captain MacClary after having so invaded and hostilely possessed himself of your Petitioner's said ship the *Good Hope* as aforesaid, did take out of her all or by far the largest part of the Ammunition, Stores and Ship's Materials, together with the most valuable of the Articles of which the Cargo consisted, and transported the same on board of his own Ship the *Dadaley*; and thereafter he carried your Petitioner's said ship with the remaining part of her cargo on board, down the river unto the second Bar, and there he kept her under his own direction and at his own disposal for some considerable space of time, and until he was obliged by the Chinese Government, upon a representation and complaint made of these proceedings by your Petitioner's supracargoes beforenamed, to restore the said ship to them together with her Gross Cargo, which partly consisting of cotton he had not been able, or found it convenient to take out of her. But that the said Captain McClary nevertheless detained in his own possession, and hath appropriated to himself not only a large quantity of the Ammunition and Stores belonging to the said ship, and which he had so divested her of as before mentioned, but also a quantity of

valuable Pearl to the amount of 55,500 Surat Rupees, the Property of divers Merchants of Surat, subject to the Laws of England, and living under the protection of the English East India Company's Flag as aforesaid, and likewise Gold in Specie to the amount of Surat Rupees 33,628-56 belonging to your Orator, and which composed part of the stock of the said ship's cargo, all which your Petitioner and the other proprietors have thus been hostily and unwarrantably robbed and deprived of by the said Captain McClary, in the manner as herein above set forth: and the truth of which facts will be seen past a doubt by your Honor, etc. if you will be pleased to have reference to an authenticated Copy, which is herunto annexed, of a deposition made jointly by Francisco Pires, the Chief Mate, and Ricardo Jose Bello, the Gunner of the said Ship *Good Hope*, on their oaths before the Council of the said Netherlands East India Company in the Empire of China, on the 27th of October in the year aforesaid; the rest of the officers of the said ship being on shore at the time the said invasion and capture was so made.

Now, may it please your Honor, etc. your Petitioner supposing that the proprietors of the Pearl, whose property has thus been plundered and withheld from them without the smallest reason or justification for the same, will not fail to apply for redress against the said Captain McClary, to those from whom they know they have everything to expect, in order to obtaining relief and satisfaction in a case of this nature; your Petitioner therefore most humbly craves the leave of your Honor etc. to urge for himself; that it clearly appears the said Captain McClary at the time he so attacked and captured your Petitioner's ship and cargo in the river of Canton, neither was, nor could have been, furnished with Letters de Marque against the subjects of the Republick of the United Provinces, from this, which is certain, that he had been with the said ship *Dadaley* at the Ports of Maccao, and Canton in China for a long time before that affair, which happened immediately, or but a very short space of time, after the news of the War between England and Holland was brought there by a Portuguese ship. But that even if the said Captain McClary had been possessed of such Letters de Marque, these would not have authorized his invading and plundering the ship of your Petitioner in a free and neutral road. An act by the Commission whereof he not only violated the rights of a free and neutral Port, but infringed the established Laws of all civilized nations, by whom lawless Pirates and indiscriminate Robbers are held in common detestation, and are exempted from the Rights and Protection of Subjects of any State. And Your Petitioner therefore submitting to your Honor, etc. that he the said Captain McClary is bound in common justice not only to restore to your Petitioner the property he has thus robbed and plundered your Petitioner of, but also to repair to your Petitioner all the losses and damages your Petitioner has suffered or may suffer by the consequence of such his procedure, and that he is compellable and ought to be compelled so to do, humbly prays your Honor, etc. to afford him their aid and assistance for that purpose, in such manner and by such means as may be in the power of your Honor etc., and as to your Honor etc., shall seem meet; in order that as well the said Captain McClary, as all other persons who have aided, abetted or participated with him in the capture and plunder of your Petitioner's ship and property, may be compelled to restore and make good all the Ammunition, Stores and other Materials which have been taken from the said ship as mentioned and particularized in the annexed deposition, or else the full and true value thereof in money at a just and equivalent estimation, and likewise the aforesaid sum of Rupees 33,628-56 of Gold Specie, together with the interest thereof, and a due and adequate

compensation for other great loss and damage which your Petitioner has unavoidably suffered in this hall.

Your Petitioner humbly apprehends, that neither the circumstance of the rupture now subsisting between his said Britannic Majesty and the States-General of the said United Provinces, nor his being himself at this present time actually a Prisoner of War in the hands of the English, ought of right to influence the consideration of your Honor, &c., against this his Complaint and Request, since it is a well known and established Maxim among the Nations of Europe, that the Existence of a War between Sovereigns never extends its Effect so as to prevent the Operation of the Laws on the private and individual Rights of the respective Subjects: And your Petitioner praying your Honor, &c., to adopt this Principle for their Guide in the present Case, and having the most confident reliance on that Justice and Equity which is so justly the Characteristic of the English Nation in general, and of the East India Company in particular, and which has been so eminently exemplified by their Representatives on this Side of India in preserving inviolate to your Petitioner and his Fellow Prisoners all their private Property, he is fully persuaded your Honor, &c., will not refuse to give him every proper relief and redress in the Premises.

But, may it further please your Honor, &c., your Petitioner is given to understand that the said Captain McClary has obtained from the Regency or Chinese Government at Canton aforesaid, some Declaration or Certificate in writing purporting that the said ship the *Good Hope* and her Cargo have been restored by him to the above-named Supracargoes of your Petitioner, and that he intends to make use of such Declaration or Certificate as an Acquittance or Discharge from and Defence against any Claim that he imagines may be made or brought against him for or by reason of his procedure aforesaid: Wherefore your Petitioner thinks it necessary, with the Leave of your Honor, &c., to represent that any such Declaration or Certificate cannot be, neither is any sufficient Proof that he the said Captain MacClary has given up your Petitioner's said Ship in the same State and Condition she was in when he so hostily invaded and took possession of her and her Cargo in the River of Canton as aforesaid, nor that he has surrendered up the Ammunition, Stores and Materials, and the Gold and Pearls which he had taken out of her and put on board his own Ship the *Dodoloy*; for that it is a Custom well-known to be invariably observed by the European Merchants who go to Trade in China, when they give in the Invoice of their Ship's Cargo to the Custom House, there to omit all Mention of Gold or Pearls, which is done in order to avoid the Payment of the intolerable Customs imposed by the Chinese Government on the Importation of these Articles; and this was the Case with the Supracargoes of your Petitioner's said Ship, who were thereby afterwards prevented from making a publick Claim of either the Gold or Pearls so seized and withheld by the said Captain MacClary: And therefore such a Declaration or Certificate in writing (if such an one has been obtained by the said Captain MacClary) can afford Proof to your Honor, &c., of nothing more than that the said Supracargoes have received back from him your Petitioner's Ship and all such parts of her Cargo and Stock, as could be publickly demanded through the Channel of the Regency of Canton, and cannot furnish the said Captain MacClary with any just or reasonable Pretext for asserting that he has in fact delivered up all or any of the Things or Property mentioned and contained in the Deposition before referred to, and thereby sworn on the Oaths of the two Officers before named, to be and to have remained in his the said Captain MacClary's Possession.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c.

SURAT, 23th May 1782.

A. J. SLUYSKEN.

Account of goods declared to have been taken out of Chinese Junke, near Banca, by Captain John McClary :—

Tutenague ...	...	Peculs	700 c. @	6 ts	...	Tales	4,200
Peko Tea ...	Chests 76	...	55'48	28	...	...	155'440
Hyson do. ...	... 53	...	35'51	50	...	...	1,775'300
Chulan do. ...	... 12	...	9'60	100	...	...	960
Skin do. ...	... 28	...	15'60	18'15	...	...	287'280
Souchon do. ...	... 199	...	149'25	28	...	...	4,179
Campo do. ...	... 38	...	23'56	20	...	...	471'200
Congo do. ...	... 302	...	241'60	17	...	...	4,107'200
Cassia ...	Bags 82	...	24'60	15	...	...	369
Rhubarb ...	Chests 13	...	20'80	50	...	...	1,040
Chinaware ...	Tubs 35	...	...	...	...	...	4,550
Sugar, Candy and sweet Oranges	121 Tubes	...	...	...	...	...	121
Plums preserved one Tub	1 do.	...	...	...	...	...	20
Bohea Tea ...	Chests 521	Peculs 911'75 c. @ 14 ts	...	...	...	...	12764'500
Dollars 50,552-9.444 = Tales							36,398'120

The above prices are in general high.

CANTON.

November 26th, 1782.



Vincent Eyre and His Wives.

"Hail! High-souled Hero, who through Hindustan
Old England's greatness didst with thunder tell!"



ADONIRAM JUDSON, the Apostle of Burma, it is said that he was singularly fortunate in his wives, of whom he had three in succession. The same remark might be applied to General Sir Vincent Eyre, the reliever of Arrah, who had two.

The last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* contained a photograph (by Mr. A. A. Madge) of the monument, in Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta, to the first Mrs. Eyre. It is a fine canopied structure of stone. Of this memorial (in the words of her epitaph) she had proved herself worthy by her noble conduct throughout the eventful period of the Cabul insurrection, having shared in its perils, and her husband's captivity in 1841-42.

The names of the Cabul captives will be found at page 285 of Lady Sale's *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan*. They include Lady Sale herself, Lady Macnaghten, Captain and Mrs. Anderson and 2 children, Captain and Mrs. Boyd and 2 children, Mrs. Mainwaring and 1 child, Lieutenant and Mrs. Eyre and 1 child, a European girl, Hester Macdonald, Captain Mackenzie and his Madras Christian servant, Jacob, Mr. and Mrs. Ryley and 2 children, Mr. Fallon, a writer in Captain Johnson's Office, Mrs. Trevor and her 7 children and European servant, Mrs. Smith, Lieutenant and Mrs. Waller and child, Mrs. Sturt,* and Mr. Mein.

Mrs. Emily Alimuty Eyre (born June 4th, 1816) was the only daughter of Colonel Sir James Mouat, Bart., of the Bengal Engineers. Sir James

* Mrs. Sturt was a daughter of Sir Robt. and Lady Sale. She was afterwards killed in the Mutiny with her second husband, Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Holmes; and her daughter, Mrs. Malloch, born during the captivity, has recently passed away. In its issue of June 6th, 1910, the *Pioneer* states that only two of the captives still survive—Sir A. C. Trevor and Mrs. Baker, the mother of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

served in India for 46 years. He acted as aide-de-camp to Sir R. Abercromby and subsequently became Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William. He died at sea on board the H.C.'s ship *Prince Regent* in 1829, and in the South Park Street Cemetery there is a monument to him which also bears a tablet inscribed with the name of Colonel Charles Mouat Chief Engineer, Bengal (1830). Some years later, Dr. F. J. Mouat, of the same family, became well known as Inspector-General of Jails, L.P.

Miss Emily Mouat was married to Lieutenant Eyre at Cawnpore on September 6th, 1833, and died in Calcutta on March 9th, 1851, aged 34 years, 9 months and 5 days. She left four children: three sons who entered the Bengal Army and a daughter who married Lieutenant-Colonel Ludlow Smith, B.S.C.

When he was Superintendent of the Powder Factory at Ishapur, Colonel Eyre next married, on June 19th, 1860, his first cousin Catherine Mary, the only child of Captain Thomas Eyre, R.N. The wedding took place at St. Peter's Church, Fort William, where they were married by the Rev. J. Rofe, and also at the R.C. Church of St. Thomas, Middleton Row, Calcutta (by the Rev. Fr. H. Everard). Through the courtesy of the Rev. Fr. A. Van de Mergel, S.J., we have been permitted to see the latter entry. It appears that a "dispensation" had to be obtained on account of the affinity existing between the parties as well as the difference of religion. The witnesses were Dr. Mouat (a near relative of the first Mrs. Eyre) and Major C. Vincent Bowie, Superintendent of the Mysore Princes and the ex-Amirs of Sindh. Lady Eyre had only one child who died in infancy. She was in every way a helpmeet for her husband, and after his retirement helped him in organising an Ambulance Service for French and German soldiers in the War of 1870, as will be seen later on. Lady Eyre survived Sir Vincent some seven or eight years.

For a biography of Eyre himself materials are not wanting. Although no special memoir has been published, his career forms a section of Colonel Malleson's *Recreations of an Indian Official*. More or less about him will also be found in most histories of the First Afghan War and the Indian Mutiny. Life-sketches appear in Higginbotham's *Men whom India has Known* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. From the two latter the following account has been adapted for the present article.

General Sir Vincent Eyre, born near Portsmouth, on 22nd January 1811, was the son of Captain Henry Eyre, of an old stock of Derbyshire Cavaliers. One of his ancestors, Colonel Thomas Eyre, is said to have had three personal combats with Oliver Cromwell at Marston Moor, forcing his retreat, and then dying of wounds received! Vincent was educated at the Norwich



LIEUT. VINCENT EYRE,
(From *Portraits of the Cabul Prisoners.*)

VINCENT EYRE AND HIS WIVES.

Grammar School under the Rev. E. Valpy, who was also the teacher of Sir Archdale Wilson of Delhi, Colonel Stoddart, the Bokhara victim, and Raja Sir James Brooke. Eyre entered the Military Academy at Addiscombe when about fifteen and passed out into the Company's Artillery. He was gazetted to the Bengal establishment, landing in Calcutta in 1829. After eight years he was promoted to be 1st-Lieutenant and appointed to the Horse Artillery. In 1839 he became Commissary of Ordnance to the Cabul Field Force. With an immense train of ordnance stores, he reached Cabul in April 1840. The British force was soon blockaded in the cantonments by the Afghans. They made desperate sallies, in one of which Eyre was in command of two guns and was severely wounded. Eyre, although suffering from his wound, and hampered by the presence of his wife and child, started with the column. Akbar Khan demanded that the married officers with their families should be surrendered as hostages. The Eyres were among the families so surrendered. They heard soon afterwards of the complete destruction of the column. They passed nearly nine months in captivity, being moved about to different forts, and suffering many privations. Eyre kept a diary and took portraits of the officers and ladies. The former was immediately published in England as "*Military Operations at Cabul.....with a Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan*," and excited no little interest, a revised and enlarged edition appearing in 1878. The captives were suddenly hurried off under a threat of being sold as slaves. From this fate they were saved by Major Eldred Pottinger, who succeeded in buying over the Afghan Officer commanding the escort. On the 17th they met Sir Richmond Shakespear at the head of a friendly party of Kāzibash horse, and on the 21st marched into General Pollock's camp at Cabul. They numbered thirty-five officers, fifty-one soldiers, twelve women, and twenty-two children. Returning to India with Pollock's army, Eyre was posted once more to the Horse Artillery. At Meerut he originated a club for the European soldiery, probably the first of the kind. In December, 1844, he was appointed to command the artillery of the newly formed "*Gwalior Contingent*," which he raised to the highest efficiency. His period of service at Gwalior was marked by an attempt to found a colony for the Indo-Portuguese families left destitute by the disbandment of the Mahratta force. He obtained land in the Doon for their settlement, which, by his desire, was called "*Esapore*," *i.e.*, the abode of Christians. After prospering for a time it had to be broken up owing to the unhealthiness of the place. He also undertook the duties of Executive Engineer to the station and erected a handsome little Church. In 1854 he became Major, and the next year visited England on furlough. In February, 1857, he returned to India and was posted to a Horse Artillery battery at Thayetmayo in Burma, but was recalled to India on the breaking out of the Mutiny. In July he was sent up to

Allahabad. On the way he learned that a force of mutineers under Koor Singh, the Rajah of Jagdespur, was besieging a small body of Government servants in a fortified house at Arrah. Eyre took the responsibility of disembarking 160 men of the 5th Foot who were under orders for Allahabad and with them and his own force marched to the relief of Arrah. Starting on 30th July he learned on the way that the enemy had repulsed a detachment of four hundred British troops. Soon he met a force five times as numerous as his own, which he defeated after desperate fighting, ending off with a bayonet charge. He was just in time to save the house which had already been mined.* Eyre disarmed the townspeople of Arrah, and being reinforced by two companies of the 10th Foot and one of Rattray's Sikhs, set out at once for Jagdespur. Once more victorious, he drove the enemy before him, capturing two field-guns and destroying Koor Singh's stronghold with all its munitions of war. This brief campaign, undertaken on his own responsibility, restored order in the district, secured the communications by the Grand Trunk Road, revived British prestige, and drew from Outram the highest praise and an earnest recommendation of Eyre for the Victoria Cross, an honour, which, however, was not bestowed. Eyre now joined at Cawnpore the force advancing under Outram and Sir H. Havelock to the Relief at Lucknow. The column reached Lucknow after four days' fighting, and Eyre succeeded to the command of the artillery at the important outpost of the Alumbagh until the capture of the rebel city by Lord Clyde in March, 1858. For his services here he was frequently named in Outram's despatches. In December, 1857, he was made Lieutenant-Colonel and C. B., and became Brevet-Colonel a year later.

After the suppression of the Mutiny Eyre was appointed to superintend the Powder-Works at Ishapore, near Calcutta. In 1861 he was selected by Lord Canning to be a Member of the Commission on the amalgamation of the Company's Army with that of the Queen, and in 1862 was appointed Inspector-General of Ordnance in the Bengal Army. The following year he went home on sick leave, and retired with the rank of Major-General. In 1867 he received the decoration of the Star of India. Happening to be in France on the breaking out of the war with Prussia, Eyre undertook to organise an ambulance service under the rules of the English National Red

* The following is a copy of a letter in the *Koladyn*, late head-quarters vessel of the Calcutta Port Defence Volunteers:—"The *Koladyn*, now the head-quarters of the Calcutta Port Defence Volunteer Corps, belonged in 1857 to the Bengal Marine, and was in July of that year fitted out as a Gunboat to convey the force under Captain Dunbar of the 10th regiment to the relief of Arrah. The *Koladyn* grounded above Dinapore, and the troops went on in another vessel. The attempted relief failed and Captain Dunbar and 115 of his men were killed, but Arrah was relieved a few days later by a force under Major Vincent Eyre."



MRS. EVER.

(From *Portraits of the Cabul Prisoners.*)

Cross Society. He formed a local committee at Boulogne and for eight months he and Lady Eyre continued to be the presiding and most active members of this beneficent organisation. These services were fully appreciated and acknowledged by both the belligerent nations. He passed his later winters at Rome, and died of a spinal disease at Aix-les-Bains on 22nd September 1881. His remains were brought to England and interred at Kensal Green.

Eyre was a fine fellow ; handsome, courteous, accomplished, daring and resourceful. Literary and artistic talents he combined with his military qualities. Altogether he was a great and good man.

E. W. M. and K. N. D.



Burials in Calcutta (1762=1774).

(1765-1774.)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



THE following entries are "Selections" from the old Presidency Burial Registers. Selections from the Burial Register for the years 1759-61 appeared in Vol. V, No. 10. With regard to military officers in the Hon'ble East Indian Company's Service it may here be mentioned (in order to save an expensive multiplication of footnotes) that the dates of their commissions, etc., will, in most cases, be found in Dodwell and Miles' *Army List* (1760-1834), London, 1838. The Editor's thanks are again due to the Chaplain of St. John's for access kindly granted to the old Parish Registers. The present article concludes the work done by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in connection with the records in St. John's Vestry Room prior to his transfer to Shillong in March, 1909.

- 1762. January 2nd.—John Roche, Inhabitant.
- 1762. January 19th.—William Smith, Inhabitant.
- 1762. January 29th.—Mrs. Mary McMahon, Inhabitant.
- 1762. February 8th.—Catherine, daughter of Mr. William Pirkes.¹
- 1762. February 11th.—Mr. Abraham Gee.²
- 1762. February 22nd.—Captain William Hutchison.
- 1762. February 23rd.—Mr. Frederick Hollister.
- 1762. March 12th.—Mr. William Cromton.
- 1762. March 29th.—Mr. Charles Miller, Commander of a Vessel.
- 1762. April 8th.—Mr. William Hallow.
- 1762. April 13th.—Mr. James Ely, Inhabitant.
- 1762. April 13th.—Mr. Ralph Hinester.
- 1762. April 15th.—Mr. David Benish.
- 1762. April 27th.—Mrs. Ann Mary Moinechen, Inhabitant.
- 1762. May 8th.—Mr. John Turner.
- 1762. May 10th.————of Lieutenant Gordon.
- 1762. May 12th.—Mrs. Ann Harrington.³
- 1762. May 25th.—Stephen Barrow, son of Captain Barrow.

¹ Pirkes, Wm. [Perkes] See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 486.

² Gee, Abraham, 1760. One of the Commissioners of Restitution, and Mayor. A number of references to persons of the name of Gee may be found in Wilson's *English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Pt. I.

³ Harrington, Mrs. Ann. See Public Proceedings, 3rd March 1760.

1762. June 2.—Mary, daughter of Captain Barrow.
 1762. June 9.—Captain Willoughby, Merchant.
 1762. July 5.—John Tanton, Inhabitant.
 1762. July 8.—David, son of the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq.¹
 1762. July 9.—Doctor Samuel Talcott.
 1762. July 15.—John Cooke, Inhabitant.
 1762. July 16.—Ensign John Mathew Finlayson.
 1762. July 22.—Mr. James Cromie, Factor at Fort Marlborough.
 1762. August 2.—Thomas, son of Mr. Andrew George.
 1762. August 4.—Amelia, daughter of Captain Ivey.
 1762. August 7.—Mr. Eliab Wilson, Inhabitant.
 1762. August 9.—John Tiis.
 1762. August 19.—Mrs. Jane McConohie, Inhabitant.
 1762. August 24.—Charlotte, daughter of Captain John Broadbrook.
 1762. August 29.—William Cradus, Inhabitant.
 1762. September 21.—Anthony Seidler, Inhabitant.
 1762. September 22.—Moor Calvin, Inhabitant.
 1762. September 23.—George Stephens, Inhabitant.
 1762. September 24.—Mr. Ivey Cargo, Inhabitant.
 1762. September 25.—Mr. Thomas McTennet, Free Merchant.
 1762. September 25.—Doctor Edward Quaderson.
 1762. September 30.—Miss Cecilla Middleton.
 1762. October 1.—Ensign John Lander.
 1762. October 2.—Mr. Robert Britten, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 4.—Mr. John Cockey, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 5.—Mr. William Ormston.
 1762. October 8.—Mrs. Mary Philips, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 12.—Robert Garner, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 12.—Mr. John Helmet, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 13.—Mrs. Sarah Ward, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 14.—John Kelly, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 14.—William Middleton, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 15.—Lieutenant Joseph Watkins.
 1762. October 21.—Cornellus Vandom in the Sloop Service.
 1762. October 21.—John Clark in the sloop Service.
 1762. October 21.—Thomas, son of Ensign John Lander.²
 1762. October 23.—Charles Challings, Inhabitant.

¹ Vansittart, D. Henry Vansittart was Governor of Bengal, 1760-64. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, "Marriages," Note No. 9.

² Lander, T. See Burial, 1st October 1762, *supra*.

1762. October 24.—Nicholas Sweetland, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 24.—George Thompson, Inhabitant.
 1762. October 26.—The Rev. Mr. Samuel Stavely, one of the Chaplains of Calcutta.⁶
 1762. November 4.—William Bear, Inhabitant.
 1762. November 4.—Mr. William Collet, Inhabitant.⁷
 1762. November 7.—Mr. Peter Cole, Inhabitant.⁸
 1762. November 8.—Nicholas Reading, Inhabitant.
 1762. November 13.—Robert Norton, Inhabitant.
 1762. November 21.—Mr. William Frazier, Inhabitant.
 1762. November 24.—Mr. Archibald Scott, Inhabitant.
 1762. November 28.—Anna Temple, Inhabitant.
 1762. November 29.—Mr. John English, Inhabitant.
 1762. December 2.—Francis Williams.
 1762. December 3.—James Harriett.
 1762. December 4.—Captain John Matthews.
 1762. December 9.—Lieutenant Mackelcan.
 1762. December 18.—Edward Charman, Inhabitant.
 1762. December 23.—Lieutenant John Hynes.
 1762. December 23.—John Waldwin, Inhabitant.
 1762. December 26.—Mr. William Boodle.⁹
 1762. December 26.—Mr. John Palmer, Inhabitant.
 1763. January 4.—Ensign William Lawder.
 1763. January 6.—Thomas, son of Peter Castier.
 1763. January 6.—Eliard Elis.
 1763. January 8.—Mrs. Martha Dacres.¹⁰
 1763. January 19.—Phebe Graham.
 1763. January 21.—Eli Clever.
 1763. February 1.—George Panton, Prisoner.
 1763. February 1.—James Wright, Prisoner.
 1763. February 9.—Robert Hayman, Sailor and Prisoner.
 1763. February 11.—Mr. John Seal, Pilot.

⁶ Stavely, Rev. S. Served as Chaplain of the Royal Navy. Appointed Chaplain, Madras Presidency, 1753. Arrived in Calcutta from Madras, January 1762, when about 42 years of age. Hyde : *Farukia Annals of Bengal*.

⁷ Collet, William. See note under date Sept. 20, 1765 *infra*.

⁸ Cole, Peter. Probably the carpenter of that name who took refuge at Paha. See Hill's *List*, p. 23.

⁹ Boodle, William. Possibly "Bodle." William Bodle was an Alderman at the Mayor's Court. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. V, No. 10, Note 38, under "Burials."

¹⁰ Dacres, Mrs. Martha. Née Howett. She had married P. M. Dacres on November 21st, 1761. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 488. He married again on December 10, 1763. *Ibid.* p. 490.

1763. February 21.—John Walker, Inhabitant.
 1763. March 10.—John Read, Prisoner.
 1763. March 10.—David Daughlass, Pilot.
 1763. March 28.—Mr. David Rutherford, Pilot.
 1763. April 8.—Captain Benjamin Brown.
 1763. April 28.—Drake Wilkson, Pilot.
 1763. May 12.—Ensign Caesar Flaction.
 1763. May 13.—Thomas Teams, Inhabitant.
 1763. May 27.—Miss Kitty Campbell.
 1763. June 11.—Mr. Edward Bateman, Inhabitant.
 1763. June 11.—Mr. John Cranmer, Inhabitant.
 1763. June 18.—Mr. William Parks, Inhabitant¹¹
 1763. June 22.—Mr. John Robinson, Inhabitant.
 1763. July 16.—Samuel, a slave of Mrs. Bodle.¹²
 1763. July 20.—Edward Davis.
 1763. July 21.—Thomas Phillips, Chief Mate of an Indiaman
 1763. July 23.—John Johnson.
 1763. July 24.—George Frier.
 1763. July 31.—Abraham Walsh, Inhabitant.
 1763. August 6.—George Shooter, Ship's Mate.
 1763. August 7.—Captain Francis Rowland¹³ of H. M.'s 84th Regt
 1763. August 8.—Mr. Thomas Hasleur, Purser of the *Ashburnham*
 1763. August 11.—Mr. Robert Arnold, Inhabitant.
 1763. August 16.—John Cornelius, Pilot.
 1763. August 18.—Captain William Mainwaring.
 1763. August 28.—Thomas Brand, Midshipman
 1763. August 30.—John Long, Inhabitant.
 1763. September 1.—Mr. Weller Norwood, Ship's Mate.
 1763. September 20.—Miss Amelia Campbell.
 1763. September 21.—Mr. John Lane.
 1763. September 25.—Balwin Cecil, Midshipman of an Indiaman.
 1763. September 25.—John Hughes, Ship's Mate.
 1763. September 26.—Captain James Douglass.
 1763. November 3.—Mr. Francis Snakers, Pilot.
 1763. November 4.—Mr. Thomas Buttar, Fourth Mate of the *Boscawen*.

¹¹ Parks, Wm. Perhaps "Perkes": See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 486.

¹² Bodle, Mrs. See note 3 *supra*. For note on Slavery in India See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, No. 11, "Baptisms," Note No. 9. Slavery was abolished in the East Indies in 1838. *Hadyn's Dictionary of Dates*.

¹³ Rowland, Captain Francis. He had but on the 22nd of January married May Ball, widow. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI.

1763. November 5.—Mr. Isaac Lloyd, Master of the *Liverpool*.
 1763. November 20.—Mr. Charles Harrington, Company's Servant.
 1763. November 24.—Mr. Robert Bailey, Inhabitant.
 1763. December 1.—Miss Margaret Ramsay.
 1763. December 1.—Mr. William West, Inhabitant.
 1763. December 13.—Mr. William Harris, Inhabitant.
 1763. December 14.—Mrs. Leanora Randall.
 1764. January 12.—Major Thomas Adams.¹¹
 1764. January 11.—Mr. James Marshall.
 1764. January 26.—Mr. Augustus Swindon.
 1764. January 26.—Mr. John McPherlin.
 1764. February 7.—Mr. John Asbridge, Inhabitant.
 1764. March 16.—Captain Alexander Maxwell.
 1764. March 16.—Captain Hugh Cameron.¹²
 1764. March 20.—Captain John Black.
 1764. March 30.—Adjutant William Sexon.
 1764. April 2.—Lieutenant William Maitford.
 1764. April 15.—Mr. John Fullerton, Inhabitant.
 1764. May 10.—Mr. Matthew Clark, Inhabitant.
 1764. May 23.—Mrs. Mary Adams, widow.
 1764. June 1.—Mr. Patrick McGuire.
 1764. June 19.—George Smith, Inhabitant.
 1764. June 20.—Captain George Morrison.
 1764. June 28.—Mr. Thomas Campbell, Inhabitant.
 1764. July 2.—Mrs. Mary Maul.
 1764. July 6.—Captain John Ellerson.
 1764. July 16.—Mr. Louis York, Mariner.
 1764. July 21.—Mr. Laurence Load.
 1764. July 24.—Mr. John Pater, Ensign.
 1764. July 27.—Mr. Edward Eleard, Inhabitant.
 1764. July 29.—Ensign William Lacem.
 1764. August 11.—Mr. John Robertson, inhabitant.

¹¹ Adams, Major Thomas. Buckland writes thus:—"An officer of the School of Clive: in 1763 succeeded to a command in Bengal: defeated Mir Kasim, Nawab of Bengal, performing splendid exploits during the campaign: he started just after a British reverse with a few English veterans and a handful of Sepoys: defeated one of the Nawab's Generals at Katwa: marched on Murshidabad and occupied it: won a brilliant victory at Gheris: dislodged the enemy from their position of great strength at the pass of Uduanna: took Monghyr: marched on Patna, and took it by assault though he was so broken down by illness that he could scarcely retain his command. Mir Kasim had fled from Patna on the approach of the English: Adams pursued him as far as the boundary of Oudh: he then died, worn out, 16th January, 1764."

¹² Cameron, Capt. H. See 1765. O. C. 14 Jan., No. 2.

1764. August 19.—Captain John Melcofe.
 1764. August 20.—Mr. William Steers.
 1764. August 22.—Mrs. Frances Rumbold.¹⁴
 1764. August 23.—Mr. Charles Steers.
 1764. August 24.—Mr. Gilbert Thompson.
 1764. August 26.—Mr. George Kent.
 1764. August 30.—Mr. Henry Holburn.
 1764. August 30.—Mr. Mitchell, inhabitant.
 1764. August 30.—Mr. Henry Titcomb, inhabitant.
 1764. September 3.—Captain John Castles.
 1764. September 4.—Thomas Joice.
 1764. September 5.—Mr. Alexander Shaw, inhabitant.
 1764. September 7.—Mrs. Margaret Barclay.
 1764. September 9.—Mr. John Porter.
 1764. September 10.—John Grady, a child.
 1764. September 12.—Mr. Andrew Pinly.
 1764. September 15.—Mr. James Berry.
 1764. September 16.—Mr. William Martin.
 1764. October 7.—Mr. William Sheeles.
 1764. October 17.—Captain Thomas Wintail.
 1764. October 20.—Mr. John Grant.
 1764. October 22.—Mr. Henry Higginson.
 1764. October 23.—Mr. William Hurle.
 1764. October 25.—Mr. Abraham Johnson.
 1764. October 29.—Quinton, French Prisoner.
 1764. October 30.—Mr. Mark Smith, inhabitant.
 1764. November 2.—Mrs. Elizabeth Dean.
 1764. November 4.—Mr. Robert Brown.
 1764. November 6.—Mr. Edward Christian.
 1764. November 8.—Mr. John Butter.
 1764. November 10.—Mr. Andrew Rutherford.

¹⁴ Rumbold, Mrs. Frances. *N/a* Berriman, had married at Madras, June 22, 1756, Thomas Rumbold (afterwards a Baronet) and Governor of Fort St. George, 1778 to April 1780. The inscription which was on her grave in the present St. John's Churchyard is given in the *Bengal Obituary*, but has disappeared. Two children were born of this marriage. "The eldest," writes H. E. A. Cotton, "who died in 1786 was aid-de-camp to Sir Hector Munro at the siege of Pondicherry, and carried home the despatches and the colours of the fortress for presentation to the King. The second son and second baronet, Sir George Berriman Rumbold, whose birth cost his mother her life, was seized by order of Napoleon, whilst minister resident at Hamburg in 1804, and conveyed as a prisoner to the Temple in Paris. He died at Memel in 1807. Two of his sons came to India and joined the banking house of Palmer and Company, at Hyderabad, where they both lie buried."—*Calcutta Old and New*, pp. 547-8.

1764. November 11.—Mrs. Deal.
 1764. November 16.—Captain Durell Cleaves.
 1764. December 4.—Mr. Richard Jones, inhabitant.
 1764. December 10.—Mr. Forster.¹⁷
 1764. December 5.—Mr. Peter.
 1764. December 16.—Mr. John Gowan Harrop.¹⁸
 1764. December 24.—Mr. John Hollonsworth.¹⁹
 1765. January 7.—Captain William Crawford.
 1765. February 6.—John Webber.
 1765. February 9.—Doctor Robert Wilkie Lowel.
 1765. March 10.—Captain Wym.
 1765. March 13.—William Ling, inhabitant.
 1765. March 14.—Mr. Daniel Thompson, Pilot.
 1765. March 17.—Mr. Magee's child.
 1765. March 22.—Anne Fletcher.
 1765. April 13.—Mr. William Martin.
 1765. April 16.—Captain Calbreath.
 1765. April 19.—Captain Henry Spellman.
 1765. April 21.—Mr. Deckson, Volunteer.
 1765. May 14.—Miss Anna Dean.
 1765. May 21.—William Yorbery.
 1765. May 29.—Mr. Dulong.
 1765. May 31.—Captain Ringrose.
 1765. June 3.—Mrs. Margaret Albert.
 1765. June 6.—Mr. Francis Redmond.
 1765. June 7.—Mr. John Alexander.
 1765. June 8.—Mrs. Elizabeth Filewood.²⁰
 1765. June 8.—Mr. Rogers.
 1765. June 10.—John Percival, inhabitant.
 1765. June 11.—Mr. Vanjever.
 1765. June 12.—Mr. Edward Lavage.
 1765. June 13.—Mr. Turner.
 1765. June 14.—Mr. Charles Keble.

¹⁷ Forster, Mr. The Forsters were a well-known Anglo-Indian family who in later years distinguished themselves in the Army. John Forster was Governor in Bengal (1745-48). St. Anne's register records the marriage, on March 6, 1747, of "The Hon'ble John Forster, Esq., and Miss Alice Paulson." Towards the close of the Eighteenth Century, two Forsters were in the Company's Civil Service: Geo. Forster, the Central Asian traveller, and Henry Pitts Forster, the Mint Master, and Orientalist.

¹⁸ Harrop, J. Gowan. See Hill's *List*, p. 45.

¹⁹ Hollonsworth, J. Probably may be identified with John Hollingsworth. Cf. Hill's *List*, p. 28.

²⁰ Filewood, Mrs. E. For her marriage see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 491.

1765. June 19.—Joseph Aman.
 1765. June 21.—Captain Samuel Elliott.
 1765. June 25.—Mr. Michael George.
 1765. July 10.—Mr. William Man.
 1765. July 14.—Captain Bureall's child.
 1765. July 17.—Captain Archibald Baillie.
 1765. July 21.—Mr. Poole's child.
 1765. July 23.—Mrs. ——— [Blank in register.]
 1765. July 24.—Mr. John Wright.
 1765. July 29.—Mr. John Shaw.
 1765. July 30.—Mr. Thomas Grant.
 1765. July 31.—Captain Robert Bell.
 1765. August 2.—Doctor Richard Ecroyd.²¹
 1765. August 5.—Mr. William Cromack.
 1765. August 8.—Mr. Carlsian Hoschorn.
 1765. August 13.—Captain Alexander Scott.²²
 1765. August 15.—Mr. Thomas Brown.
 1765. August 20.—Mr. John Perch.
 1765. August 20.—Mr. Thomas Castleton.
 1765. August 21.—Mr. Lawson.
 1765. August 23.—Mr. John Scott.
 1765. August 25.—Mr. Gill.
 1765. August 31.—Mr. William Herrol.
 1765. September 6.—David Rottrey.
 1765. September 11.—Mr. Nathaniel Werry.²³
 1765. September 23.—Thomas Imeson.
 1765. September 23.—Charles Gardyne.
 1765. September 26.—Edward Collet.²⁴

²¹ Ecroyd, Richard. See 1765, O.C. 18th February 204 : 25th July, No. 2.

²² Scott, Alexander. His name appears second on a list of pilots in Calcutta dated 1st August 1757. He was at Madras at the time of the siege. Extract from Log of the *Delaware* :—"Monday, 2nd August 1756. Made sail for Futta, Scott the Pilot being on board, our people sickly." Hill : *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. III, p. 19. Appointed Master Attendant. Surveyed the Chittagong river, 1760.

²³ Werry, Nathaniel. An officer of the *Kint*. See 1765, O.C. 24th January, No. 2 (8).

²⁴ Collet, Ed. The Collets (or Colletts) seem to have been a family which supplied several members to the service of the Hon'ble East India Company. For John or Joseph Collett, Deputy Governor at Bencoolen, see Wilson, *Early Annals*, Vol. II, Pt. 1. About 1711 we meet with Jonathan or Thomas Collett, Commander of the *Grantham*. Waterworth Collett was Member of Council and Storekeeper in 1717. Secretary 1718, Zamindar (or Collector) 1719, Buzzy and Storekeeper, 1720. Left for England on the *Duke of York*, January 1721. Wilson, *Annals*, Vol. III, p. 317. Chaplain Mapletoft was a great-grandson of Susanna Collett, a near relative of Nicholas Ferriss of Little Gidding, whose community is described in *John Bunyan*. See Hyde's *Puritanical Annals*, p. 99. A Mathew Collett arrived 30th August 1740, apparently at the age of 14, and to him fell the duty of surrendering the Cassimbazar Factory in 1756. In 1757 he became Naval Storekeeper. Mr. Collett's

1765. September 27.—Captain Thomas Bristow.²⁶
 1765. September 28.—John Crosby.
 1765. October 2.—David Baillie.
 1765. October 5.—Mr. John Drummond.
 1765. October 7.—Mr. Ludolph Dohnston's child.
 1765. October 8.—John Fitzpatrick.
 1765. October 11.—John Morgan.
 1765. October 12.—John Bale.
 1765. October 16.—Richard Sparks.
 1765. November 3.—Mr. Farmar.
 1765. November 9.—Mr. William Roff.
 1765. November 15.—Mrs. Hopkinson.
 1765. November 23.—Mrs. Downs.
 1765. November 26.—Mrs. Alexander Davison.
 1765. November 29.—Captain Ramgee.
 1765. November 30.—Mrs. Kiernander's Slave Girl, Clarinda.²⁷
 1765. December 4.—Mr. Henry Bird.
 1765. December 8.—Captain Scottny's child.
 1765. December 17.—Mrs. Margaret Nixon.²⁸
 1765. December 21.—Captain Samuel Levick.
 1765. December 23.—Adjutant John Kennedy.
 1766. January 1.—Mr. Thomas Deulall.
 1766. January 2.—Mr. Richard Phillips.
 1766. January 10.—Mr. Thomas Heart.
 1766. January 13.—Francis de Souze.
 1766. January 16.—Mr. James Gray's child.
 1766. January 27.—Mr. Thomas Gile.
 1766. January 28.—Mr. William Bear.
 1766. January 29.—Mrs. Anna Thea Maria Burdett.
 1766. February 6.—Mrs. Mary Savage.²⁹

house is marked in William Wills' plan of Calcutta, 1753. A Mr. Collet was Zemindar of Calcutta in 1738. See Sterndale's *History of the Calcutta Collectorate*, p. 17.

²⁶ Bristow, Captain Thomas. On 15th May 1763 P. Downes informed the Board that he was sending Thos. Bristow as his agent to Backergunge. Long: *Selections*, p. 318.

²⁷ Mrs. Kiernander's Slave. This is an interesting entry for more than one reason. Mrs. Kiernander (formerly Mrs. Anne Wolley) was the second wife of the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander, married to him on February 10, 1762. One of Kiernander's Portuguese catechists bequeathed to him a slave-girl named "Rebekah." Hyde: *Parochial Annals*, p. 156. For Slavery in India see note 12 *supra*, also under "Baptisms," *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, No. 11, Note No. 9.

²⁸ Nixon, Mrs. Margaret. On September 10th, 1766, we find John marrying Margaret Scott, widow. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 493. See note 34, *infra*.

²⁹ Savage, Mrs. Perhaps the wife of John Savage or of Edward Savage. See Hill's *List*, p. 81, and *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 141.

1766. February 8.—Mr. Moor's child.
 1766. February 11.—Captain John Ramsay.
 1766. February 23.—Mr. David Freeze.
 1766. February 23.—Mr. Benjamin Reading Smith.
 1766. March 7.—Mrs. Mary Ranbow.¹⁰
 1766. March 9.—Mr. John Ellis.¹¹
 1766. March 14.—Mrs. Bates.
 1766. March 26.—Mr. John Hassey [Halsey].¹²
 1766. March 30.—Captain Jameson.
 1766. April 15.—Captain Edward Mason.
 1766. April 15.—Mr. Nell Pettgrue.
 1766. April 19.—Mr. John Fox.
 1766. April 30.—Mr. Dunstan.
 1766. May 11.—Mr. Case.
 1766. May 11.—Mr. Thompson.
 1766. May 13.—Mr. James McLeod.
 1766. May 14.—Mr. Verelst's child.¹³
 1766. May 28.—Mr. Edward Gregory.
 1766. May 24.—Mr. Hardwick's child.
 1766. May 25.—Mr. Jeremiah Goodwin.
 1766. May 26.—Mr. Bunce.¹⁴
 1766. May 30.—Mr. Burn's Child.
 1766. June 6.—Mr. Sailman.
 1766. June 19.—Mr. Brown.
 1766. June 23.—Mr. William Peter.
 1766. June 25.—Ensign William Fatoham.
 1766. July 3.—Ann Druiitt.
 1766. July 9.—Mr. Richard Thursby.¹⁵

¹⁰ Ranbow, Mrs. (or Rainbow) took refuge at Futta in 1756. John Rainbow, pilot, died 22nd December 1702. See Hill's *List*.

¹¹ Ellis, J. Not to be confused with Surgeon J. (James) Ellis, for there is a letter extant from Surgeon Ellis dated 5th May.

¹² Halsey, John. Several Halseys can be traced. Ralph Sheldon married a "Mrs. Elizabeth Halsey," 29th February 1704. There was an Edward Halsey in Calcutta in 1703-4. A Nathaniel Halsey, a relation of Governor Pitt, is mentioned in the latter's correspondence and was captured at Cosimbazar in 1702. A John Halsey was Zemindar of Calcutta in 1739.

¹³ Verelst, Mr. Most probably the son of Henry Verelst who succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal (1767-69) and wrote (in reply to Bolt's *Considerations*) *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*. See Buchland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

¹⁴ Bunce, Mr. On 6th April 1765 Ensign Thos. Bunce writes from Allahabad to explain the circumstances which brought about the death of one of his servants.

¹⁵ Thursby, Richard. On 26th June a Mr. Richard Thursby reports his arrival at Guinea with 25 other men. This Thursby was the Chief Mate of the wrecked *Falmouth*.

1766. July 23.—Mr. John Savage.³⁶
 1766. July 26.—Mr. Andrew Christian.
 1766. August 1.—Lieutenant Cornet William Martin.
 1766. August 1.—Mr. Peter Gallop.³⁷
 1766. August 3.—Mr. West.
 1766. August 4.—Mr. Wilkinson Thomas.
 1766. August 5.—Major Grant.³⁷
 1766. August 13.—Mr. Jonathan Dumbleton.³⁸
 1766. August 14.—Mrs. Grant's daughter.
 1766. August 18.—Mr. Robert Nimé.
 1766. August 19.—Miss Dilligla.
 1766. August 22.—Ensign John Wood.³⁹
 1766. August 22.—Captain Scott.⁴⁰
 1766. August 23.—Mr. John Fitzherbert.
 1766. August 25.—Mrs. Campbell.
 1766. August 29.—Mr. Drake Harman.
 1766. August 29.—Mr. John Burford.⁴¹
 1766. August 29.—Mrs. Jane Martin.⁴²

³⁶ Savage, John. Perhaps to be identified with Edward Savage, who escaped in the confusion after the capture of Fort William. Probably not the Civilian of that name. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 201. There is a letter addressed to Mr. John Savage the Civilian from Patna by William Byss Martin on the 15th May 1766. The Civilian was third at Patna in 1768. Long: *Selections*, p. 412.

³⁷ Gallopins, Peter. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 487 (note 12) and Vol. V, p. 143.

³⁸ Grant, Major. This seems to be Alexander Grant, the Adjutant-General, who went on board the ship with Governor Drake, but was pardoned, as he explained that he had endeavoured to induce Captain Young of the *Dodley* to return. He voted for immediate action before Plassey. He retired on being impeded by Captain Guin. Broome (p. 206) says he returned as a Free Merchant and became contractor for military supplies and died in 1769. See also Hill's *Let.* Carelessly enough there is a letter dated 20th September 1766 from Alexander Grant tendering a contract for draft and carriage buffaloes for the army and another dated 24th November, another dated 13th February 1767, 8th June.

³⁹ Dumbleton, Jonathan. Jonathan Baldrick Dumbleton, baptised 14th November 1754, son of Ensign William Dumbleton, Notary Public and Registrar of the Mayor's Court, who died in the Black Hole, while his wife (widow Elizabeth Twiss, whom he had married 20th June 1759) escaped to Falm. Another son was William Roger Dumbleton. On March 1757 the Court had ordered Dumbleton to be deported if "you find him inclinable to foment disputes, and of a litigious disposition," on the ground of his want of a license to reside. Long: *Selections*, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Wood, Ensign J. Possibly the John Wood mentioned in Hill's *Let.* And perhaps the husband of the lady imprisoned at Chunar. See *Genuine Memoirs of Asiatics*. Notes, pp. VIII—IX.

⁴¹ Scott, Captain David. See Dodwell and Milne's *Army List*.

⁴² Burford, John. A Robert Burford can be traced. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 201.

⁴³ Martin, Jane. The inscription on the grave in St. John's churchyard does not agree in date:—"Here lieth the body of Jane Martin, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Fleming Martin, who died the 15th day of September 1766, aged 35 years." Colonel Fleming Martin was one of the Chief Engineers employed in the erection of the new Fort William.

1766. August 30.—Mr. John Hendrich Uvavpoltt.
 1766. August 31.—Mr. William Warden.
 1766. September 1.—Mr. William Johnson.
 1766. September 6.—Mr. Joseph Howell.
 1766. September 9.—Mr. George Province.
 1766. September 12.—Mr. Charles Murray.
 1766. September 12.—Mr. Joy.
 1766. September 13.—Ensign Edward Reid.
 1766. September 13.—Mr. Edward Grindall.⁴²
 1766. September 17.—Mr. Thomas Fling.
 1766. September 10.—Captain James Halles.
 1766. September 19.—Mr. William James.
 1766. September 19.—Mr. John Baily.
 1766. September 22.—Mr. James Walter.
 1766. September 23.—Mrs. Eleanor Winwood.⁴³
 1766. September 27.—Mr. William Winter.
 1766. September 28.—Mr. John Majoribanks.⁴⁴
 1766. September 28.—Mr. —[Blank in Register.]
 1766. October 2.—Mr. James Gray.
 1766. October 2.—Lieutenant John Gilder.
 1766. October 5.—Lieutenant Charles Drummond.
 1766. October 10.—Captain Richard Nun.
 1766. October 15.—Mr. Charles Doyle.
 1766. October 16.—Mr. William Flowerday.
 1766. October 18.—Garret De Fricx.
 1766. October 19.—Mr. Strugnall.
 1766. October 28.—Mr. William Hose.
 1766. November 3.—Mr. George Ives.⁴⁵
 1766. November 13.—Mr. Hughes.
 1766. November 19.—Mr. William Topp.
 1766. November 21.—Mr. James Holbourn.
 1766. November 21.—Francis Owen.
 1766. November 23.—John Dunne.

⁴² Grindall, Edw. Richard Grindall, a Surgeon, writes to the Board on 24th May 1766 concerning his suspension from the service.

⁴³ Winwood, Mrs. Eleanor. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 497. She was 32 at the time of her death. Her husband, Major Ralph Winwood, married, July 2, 1770, Elizabeth, widow of the Rev. W. Parry, Chaplain.

⁴⁴ Majoribanks, J. A. Civil Servant. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 261.

⁴⁵ Ives, G. The name is Ivis. For his demand on the Rajah of Dinagapoor see 1766 O.C. 21st April No. 6 (3). See *Long: Selections*, p. 407.

1766. November 25.—Joseph Harris.
 1766. November 27.—Mr. Marshall Johnson.⁴²
 1766. December 21.—Mr. Richard Hammond.
 1767. January 3.—Alexander McKenzie.
 1767. January 3.—Captain James Tingle.
 1767. January 15.—Mr. Charles Pricewood.
 1767. January 16.—Daniel Massey.
 1767. January 18.—Miss Elizabeth Hardwick.
 1767. January 19.—Hugh, son of Hugh Watts, Esq., of Council.⁴³
 1767. January 20.—Mrs. Sarah Rodger.
 1767. January 22.—Mr. Michael Froes.
 1767. January 22.—Mr. William Pool.
 1767. January 26.—Miss Mary Green.
 1767. January 27.—Mr. Charles Home.
 1767. January 30.—Mr. James Andrewson.
 1767. February 1.—Mr. John Carpenter.
 1767. February 5.—Mr. William Richfoot.
 1767. February 11.—William, son of Major William Winwood.
 1767. February 18.—Mr. George Waddle.
 1767. February 21.—Mr. Thomas Freeman.
 1767. February 22.—Mr. William Roff.
 1767. February 26.—Charles Dixon.
 1767. March 15.—Mr. John Taylor.⁴⁴
 1767. April 7.—Mrs. Thomas Ridley.
 1767. April 8.—Mrs. Mary Plowman.⁴⁵
 1767. April 12.—Miss Mary Cole.
 1767. April 16.—Mrs. John Walton.⁴⁶
 1767. April 17.—Mr. Leslie Pommeret.
 1767. April 21.—Mr. Alexander Gibson.
 1767. April 21.—Mr. William Weston.
 1767. April 27.—Mr. John Douglass.
 1767. May 2.—Mr. John Weston.
 1767. May 5.—Mr. William Martin.
 1767. May 10.—Mr. William Leek.

⁴² Johnson, Marshall. In March 1763 he describes himself as for near three months been "rotting in a loathsome jail" being unable to find bail for £400 and a fine inflicted on him at the quarter sessions for striking his servant. Long : *Selections*, p. 311.

⁴³ Watts, H. See "Marriages" *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 488.

⁴⁴ Taylor, J. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 148.

⁴⁵ Plowman, Mrs. See *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 493.

⁴⁶ Walton, J. A Mr. William Walton in 1765 manufactured gunpowder in "Baghbasar." This person, however is not the one whose burial is recorded here.

1767. May 12.—Mr. John Steuart.
 1767. May 17.—Mr. John Savage.
 1767. May 21.—Mr. James Langford White.
 1767. May 28.—Doctor Charles Mackellar.
 1767. May 28.—Mr. John Lloyd Booth.
 1767. June 4.—Mr. Henry Richfoot.
 1767. June 5.—Mr. Peter Wise.
 1767. June 6.—Mr. Francis Stoddart.
 1767. June 7.—Mr. William Nixon.
 1767. June 8.—Mr. Samuel Mitchell.
 1767. June 8.—Mr. Robert Burrell.
 1767. June 8.—Mr. Alexander Shields.
 1767. June 8.—Captain George Simson.
 1767. June 9.—Mr. William Kelly,⁸²
 1767. June 10.—Mr. William Mitchell.
 1767. June 10.—Mr. James Whitefield.
 1767. June 12.—Mrs. Clara White.
 1767. June 15.—The Rev. Mr. Thomas Blomer,⁸³ one of the Chaplains
 of Calcutta.
 1767. June 18.—Mr. David Wise.
 1767. June 21.—Captain George Meldrum.
 1767. June 27.—Mr. John Brown.
 1767. June 27.—Mr. Peter Reed.
 1767. July 8.—Mr. T. L. Nicholson.
 1767. July 8.—Captain James Wilson.
 1767. July 11.—Mr. Thomas Blair.
 1767. July 19.—Mr. Philip Morris.
 1767. July 21.—Miss Jessie Joyce Nixon.⁸⁴
 1767. July 23.—Mr. Samuel Mesman.
 1767. July 23.—Mrs. Mary Ocum.
 1767. July 30.—Mr. Walter Forbes.
 1767. July 31.—Mr. Robert Todd.
 1767. August 3.—John Ernest Freeman.
 1767. August 6.—Mr. Richard Adams.

* Kelly, William. Warren Hastings in 1763, had an agent of the name of Kelly in his private trade in the Backergunge district. See Long : *Selections*, p. 319.

⁸² Blomer, Rev. Thomas, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Ordained priest by Bishop of London, 3rd March 1765. Hyde : *Parochial Annals*, p. 137.

⁸⁴ Nixon, J. J. There were several Nixons in Calcutta about this time. Joshua Nixon married M. Scott, 18th September 1766. William Nixon died 7th June 1767; James Nixon, 11th August 1767, and Mrs. Jessie Joyce Nixon, presumably the mother of this child, on 27th November 1767. See *infra*.

1767. August 7.—Mr. Michael Bird.
 1767. August 10.—Mrs. Mary Dobinson.²⁰
 1767. August 11.—Mr. James Nixon.²¹
 1767. August 20.—Mr. Benjamin Gibbons.
 1767. August 21.—Mr. Thomas Morgan.
 1767. August 21.—Mr. John Gibson.
 1767. August 23.—Mr. David Obliboys.
 1767. August 25.—Mr. John Wood.²²
 1767. August 25.—Mr. Thomas Baldwin.
 1767. August 28.—Mr. James Champlain.
 1767. August 28.—Mr. John Williams.
 1767. August 30.—Mr. William Curtis.
 1767. August 31.—Mr. William Skinner.
 1767. September 2.—Mr. John Smith.
 1767. September 3.—Mr. Robert Evans.
 1767. September 6.—Mr. John Rasmus.
 1767. September 7.—Mr. John Cook.
 1767. September 7.—Dr. Daniel Grove.
 1767. September 8.—Mr. Henry Walker.
 1767. September 9.—Mr. John Heatly.
 1767. September 13.—Mr. John Cole.
 1767. September 13.—Mr. Philip Philpot.
 1767. September 15.—Mr. John Cootbell.
 1767. September 16.—Mrs. Elizabeth Reed.²³
 1767. September 21.—Captain John Monday.
 1767. September 23.—Mr. Joseph Harris.
 1767. September 26.—Mr. James Bathoe.
 1767. September 30.—Mr. Partley Heblon.
 1767. October 5.—Mr. Stephen Fortnom.²⁴
 1767. October 9.—Mr. Benjamin Gold.
 1767. October 11.—Mr. John Hutchinson.

²⁰ Dobinson, M. "Dohinson" is an uncommon name. One Elizabeth Dohinson married 4th February 1759 N. Walshbrook. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 435.

²¹ Nixon, J. See notes 27 and 52 *supra*.

²² Wood, J. A writer in the H. E. I. Co.'s service. The first burial in the South Park Street Cemetery. His tomb was subsequently levelled to make way for the western cross-road. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 69.

²³ Reed, Mrs. Her tomb is in St. John's churchyard. She was aged 26 at time of death and was the wife of John Reed. Her infant son, who died 17th November following, aged 1 month and 27 days, is buried with her. An illustration of this tomb appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, facing p. 491. John Reed was Sub-Treasurer in 1767. See note 63 *supra*.

²⁴ Fortnom, S. The marriage of Captain John Fortnom to Miss Jane Yeates is recorded, 3rd September 1767.

1767. October 17.—Mr. William Hedgley.
 1767. October 17.—Mr. Thomas King.
 1767. October 21.—Mr. Samuel Hansey.
 1767. October 21.—Mr. Martin Teeckle.
 1767. October 23.—Mr. Benjamin England.
 1767. October 23.—Mr. Robert Baxter.
 1767. October 26.—Lieutenant George Brown.
 1767. October 28.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaistead³⁸
 1767. November 1.—Mr. Joseph Millson.
 1767. November 2.—Mr. Richard Hatley.
 1767. November 15.—Miss Ann Ross.
 1767. November 27.—Mrs. Jessie Joyce Nixon.³⁹
 1767. December 1.—Mr. Francis Allen.
 1767. December 3.—Mr. John Hurdis.
 1767. December 12.—Mr. Samuel Griffith.
 1767. December 20.—Mr. James Robertson.
 1767. December 20.—Captain George Martyn.
 1767. December 23.—Mr. John Spark.
 1767. December 29.—Mr. James Dick.
 1767. December 30.—Mrs. Susanna Goodwin.
 1768. January 29.—Mr. Thomas Selves.
 1768. February 1.—Mr. Thomas French.⁴⁰
 1768. February 5.—Mr. Daniel Laduxe.
 1768. February 16.—Mr. Robert Dorrett.
 1768. March 8.—Mr. David Jones.
 1768. March 28.—Mr. Peter Vessel.

³⁸ Plaistead, Bartholomew. Originally a Sea Captain. Appointed Surveyor in 1745. After a dispute with the authorities left Calcutta 28th November 1749 and went home *via* Gombroon, Bussorah, Aleppo and France : reached London 24th November 1750. In 1757 he published a *Journal* of this voyage, from which a map and an extract was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV. Returned to Bengal with Court's orders for his re-employment : disputes were re-opened and he was suspended for insubordination. Appointed Master Attendant, 2nd November 1755. Transferred to Bombay October 1761, but detained to survey Chittagong. For his surveys see Dalrymple's *Collection of Nautical Papers* (1788). Visited Malacca 1763. Appointed Assistant Engineer with rank of youngest factor and salary of Rs. 1,500 per annum but not to rise in the service. Became Member of Council at Chittagong, but this appointment was subsequently annulled by the Court. Ordered to survey the Bordwan Province 15th August 1765. Ordered to Luckypore July 1767, where he assisted Rennell. Returned to Calcutta 1st October 1767 and died "after a ten days' fever" on 27th October 1767. Col. F. Wilford in *Atiaick Ratanchee* (Vol. XIV, p. 446) repeats Lacour's amusing story about Plaistead's having once been carried away by an alligator on which he had apparently sat down, mistaking it for the trunk of a fallen tree!

³⁹ Nixon, Mrs. See notes 27 and 32 *supra*.

⁴⁰ French, Thomas. A Civil Servant. Apparently arrived in 1735. Storekeeper, Naval Works, 1767. Storekeeper, New Works, 1767.

1768. April 16.—Lieutenant Cook.
 1768. April 20.—Mr. James Broke.
 1768. April 28.—Mr. Charles Haggon.
 1768. May 5.—Miss Jones.
 1768. May 25.—Miss Margaret Elizabeth—.
 1768. May 27.—Mr. James Paugh.
 1768. May 28.—Mr. Richard Witts.
 1768. June 3.—Mr. Thomas Cauty.
 1768. June 9.—Mr. John Page.
 1768. June 11.—Mr. Thomas Blumbly.
 1768. June 14.—Mr. Edward Handell.⁸²
 1768. June 14.—Mr. John Harrington.
 1768. June 20.—Mr. George Draycott.
 1768. June 20.—Mr. John Reed.⁸³
 1768. June 23.—Lieutenant John Pierce.
 1768. June 23.—Mr. Thomas Geatkin.
 1768. June 23.—Mr. Hans Barnet.
 1768. July 4.—Mr. Peter Knudson.
 1768. July 12.—Mr. William Walton.⁸⁴
 1768. July 17.—Mr. John Affleck.
 1768. August 2.—Ensign James Rich.
 1768. August 5.—Mr. Daniel Jameson.
 1768. August 5.—Mrs. Innacia Morino.
 1768. August 17.—Mr. Edward Thompson.
 1768. August 25.—Mr. Patrick Cargen.
 1768. August 26.—Captain Magnes Delea.
 1768. August 26.—Mr. Timothy Murphy.
 1768. August 27.—Mr. John Syndecombe.
 1768. August 30.—Mr. John James.
 1768. September 3.—William Procter, Mate of the *Verelst* East
 Indiaman.
 1768. September 7.—John Paddy, Merchant.
 1768. September 9.—Mrs. Sarah Pearson.⁸⁵
 1768. September 23.—Mr. John Bryan.

⁸² Handell [Handle: Handle]. Appointed to succeed Munro as Surveyor in 1761. In 1758 he had purchased the struck farm for Rs. 2,000, but finding the distillery prejudicial to the military, the Board closed it, and compensated Handle by appointing him Scavenger of Calcutta. Long: *Selections*, p. 238 and p. 243.

⁸³ Reed, John. See note 58 *supra*. Not to be confused with the Chief of Chittagong of the same name.

⁸⁴ Walton, William. Manufacturer of gunpowder.

⁸⁵ Pearson, Mrs. S. Here is the oldest existing monument in the South Park Street Cemetery. Most probably the wife of Thomas Pearson, who died 31st August 1781, and is buried near her.

1768. October 3.——Russell, Inhabitant.
 1768. October 21.—Godfrey Soul.
 1768. October 27.—James Rust.
 1768. October 31.—Alexander Grant, Esq.⁶⁷
 1768. November 1.—Mr. Thomas Carnegie, Surgeon.
 1768. November 3.—John Hacksted, Inhabitant.
 1768. November 5.—William Keighley, Esq.
 1768. November 5.—Mr. Gordon, Assistant Surgeon.
 1768. November 9.—Mr. Thomas Loveday, Mate of a County Ship.
 1768. November 24.—Mr. Thomas James, Lieutenant of the Artillery.
 1768. November 25.—Mr. Nathaniel Freeman, Mate of a County Ship.
 1768. November 28.—Henry Plowman, Esq.
 1768. November 30.—Thos. Eld, Esq., Cadet.⁶⁸
 1768. December 19.—William, son of Mr. Charles and Amelia Weston.⁶⁹
 1768. December 19.—Elizabeth Douglass.
 1768. December 21.—Mr. John Surdle,⁷⁰ Cornet of the Body Guard.
 1768. December 26.—Mr. Moses Smith, Mate of a County Ship.
 1768. December 27.—Mr. John Cooper, late Midshipman of the *Kent* East Indiaman.
 1768. December 27.—Mr. John Harding, Inhabitant.
 1768. December 27.—Elizabeth, wife of William Baxter, Soldier.
 1768. December 30.—Catherine, wife of Francis Sykes,⁷¹ Esq., of Council.
 1769. January 17.—William Crawford, Inhabitant.
 1769. January 18.—Mr. John Vollum, Lieutenant of the Artillery.
 1769. January 18.—Charles, son of Mr. Richard Dean, Deputy Master Attendant, and Catherine, his wife.
 1769. January 24.—Mr. Thomas Ramsay, Writer to a Black Merchant.
 1769. January 31.—Robert Welch in the Pilots' Service.
 1769. January 31.—Deborah, daughter of Toby Newman and Sylvia, his wife.
 1769. February 9.—Morgan Williams in the Pilots' Service.
 1769. February 13.—Mr. George Best, Chief Mate of the *Thames* East Indiaman.

⁶⁷ Grant, Alexander. See note 37 *supra*.

⁶⁸ Eld, T. See Dodwell and Miles' *Army List* where the name is spelt "Eldre."

⁶⁹ Weston, C. See "Baptisms," 15th April 1765, *Bengal Post and Present*, Vol. V, No. 11, p. 330.

⁷⁰ Surdle, John. One Lieutenant Richard Surdle is shown in Dodwell and Miles' *Army List* as having been killed in action 21st January 1769.

⁷¹ Sykes, Catherine. See *Bengal Post and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 492.

1769. February 18.—William Kelly, Inhabitant.
 1769. February 24.—Mr. Robert Frettwell, Free Merchant.
 1769. March 12.—Robert Revett, Inhabitant.
 1769. March 30.—Joseph Morgan, a Servant.
 1769. April 3.—Robert Nonius, a Black Writer.
 1769. April 13.—The Rev. Mr. Parry,¹⁸ one of the Chaplains of Calcutta.
 1769. April 21.—William Lass, a Dutchman from Chinsura.
 1769. April 24.—Robert Fisher, Mate in the Pilots' Service.
 1769. May 4.—Thomas Dickins, Servant to Mr. Feardon.
 1769. May 5.—Mr. Godfrey Nokes, Free Merchant.
 1769. May 16.—Mrs. Mary Hunt, widow.
 1769. May 21.—Mr. John Brown, a Writer.
 1769. May 22.—Mr. William Heyland, Lieutenant in the Company's Service.
 1769. May 24.—Mr. Charles Scott, Lieutenant in the Artillery.
 1769. June 1.—Mr. Robert Rook, formerly an Officer in the Company's Service.
 1769. June 24.—Mr. James Walters, late Purser of the *Bahar* County Ship.
 1769. June 25.—John Holme, Senior, Esq.
 1769. June 25.—John Marr, Prisoner in the Jail.
 1769. June 28.—Judith Purks [Perkes].¹⁹
 1769. July 2.—Edward Evans, a Cooley Driver.
 1769. July 9.—Henry, son of Mr. Charles Caves.
 1769. July 15.—Mr. Harrison Roper, Free Merchant.
 1769. July 21.—Henry Saunders.
 1769. July 21.—Benjamin Hansey, Mate of a Country Vessel.
 1769. July 24.—Francisca Smith, widow.
 1769. July 26.—John Wedderburn Samuel Thomas, son of Captain John and Isabella Miller.
 1769. August 2.—Elizabeth, wife of Mr. John Hamilton, Master of a Pilot Sloop.
 1769. August 11.—William Page, a Servant.
 1769. August 11.—Mr. John Donaldson.
 1769. August 16.—Elizabeth, wife of Frederick Thomas Smith, Esq., Fort Major.

¹⁸ Parry, The Rev. Information concerning him will be found in Hyde's *Parochial Annals*. It was he who "consecrated" the South Park Street Burial Ground in May or June 1768. His widow married Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Winwood on 2nd July 1770. See note 44 *supra*.

¹⁹ Perkes, Judith *nee* Lucas. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 486.

1769. August 16.—Mr. Francis Macaulay, Purser of the *Lord Holland* East Indiaman.

1769. August 18.—Mr. John Parsons.

1769. August 18.—Edward Mason, a Servant.

1769. August 22.—William Young, a Servant.

1769. August 23.—Mr. John Dick, Writer in the Company's Service.

1769. August 24.—Mr. John Briscoe, Writer in the Company's Service.

1769. August 27.—Mr. George Gordon, Captain of a Country Ship.

1769. August 29.—Catherine, wife of Mr. James Harris,⁷⁴ a Senior Merchant.

1769. September 1.—Mr. William North, formerly an officer in ye Company's Service.

1769. September 3.—Mr. James Irwin, Lieutenant of Artillery.

1769. September 3.—Mr. Martin Boutant de Mevill,⁷⁵ a Danish architect.

1769. *September 9.—Robert Moule, Mate of a County Ship.

1769. September 16.—Joseph Sinnet in the pilot's Service.

1769. September 16.—Robert Edmund, infant son of Mrs. Lucy Maddison, widow.

1769. September 16.—Charles Mitchell, a servant.

1769. September 16.—Mr. Thomas Higgins, late Deputy Commissary to ye Army.

1769. September 21.—John Hunter, a barber.

1769. September 22.—Charles Child, Midshipman of the *Hampshire* East Indiaman.

1769. September 23.—Mr. Peter Cuthbert, Cadet.

1769. September 23.—Mr. Robert Hunter,⁷⁶ a Surgeon.

1769. September 26.—Alexander Sheriff, Overseer of Cooleys in ye new Fort.

1769. September 27.—Mr. Charles Weston, formerly an officer in the Service.

1769. October 6.—Mrs. Mary French,⁷⁷ widow.

1769. October 12.—Mrs. Mary Grant,⁷⁸ widow.

⁷⁴ Harris, James. This must be the Civilian who married in 1772 at Dacca Miss Henrietta Thackeray. Harris "arrived" in 1738 and was Chief of Dacca in 1771. See Hunter, *Thackerays in India*. On 16th June 1763 a "Mr. Harris" had married a Miss Elisabeth Cass. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 490.

⁷⁵ Boutant de Mevill, Architect of Kismetdar's *Beth Tephillah* (Old or Mission Church). The building was not completed at the time of his death.

⁷⁶ Hunter, Robert. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, pp. 148-9.

⁷⁷ French, Mary. See above note.

⁷⁸ Grant, Mary. See Cavallo. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 488 (Note 31).

1769. October 13.—Mr. David Shields, Captain of a County Ship.
1769. October 13.—Mr. Stephen Pecknell of the *Britannia* East Indian.
1769. October 14.—Robert Notley, late a servant in ye *Admiral Watson* East Indian.
1769. October 16.—Dominga Rozario, a native.
1769. October 18.—Alexander Rose, Esq., Captain in the Company's Service.
1769. October 18.—Samuel Ashe, Assistant Surgeon.
1769. October 22.—Alexander Buchanan, Overseer of Cooleys in ye new Fort.
1769. October 24.—Mr. William Mallbey, Free Merchant.
1769. October 25.—Nathaniel Kindersley,¹⁹ Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel in ye Company's Service.
1769. October 27.—Mrs. Mary Colvill, wife of Mr. Robert Colvill, Commissary.
1769. November 3.—John Garraghan, Sheriff's Officer.
1769. November 6.—Lucy——, a native.
1769. November 7.—John Campbell, Mate of County Ship.
1769. November 13.—John Meyer, inhabitant.
1769. November 17.—Walter Farthing, Captain of a County Vessel.
1769. November 17.—John Frolick, Surgeon's Assistant in ye Hospital.
1769. November 18.—John Rich, inhabitant.
1769. November 18.—David Price.
1769. November 18.—Mr. John Bryer, Examiner in ye Mayor's Court.
1769. November 19.—Judith Squires, a servant.
1769. November 22.—Mr. Matthew Davie, Writer in ye Company's Service.
1769. November 24.—Francis Dutchman, inhabitant.
1769. December 1.—John Horsey, inhabitant.
1769. December 3.—Frederick Tymes, Dutchman.
1769. December 5.—George Jamerson, Master of a Pilot Sloop.
1769. December 6.—John Low, Esq., late Resident at Ganjam.
1769. December 7.—Alice, wife of Mr. Thomas Walter,²⁰ Resident at Chatigan.
1769. December 10.—Robert Crawford, inhabitant.
1769. December 15.—Anna Bella, daughter of Captain Horton Briscoe,²¹ and Maria his wife.

¹⁹ Kindersley, N. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 307.

²⁰ Walter, Alice. See *Ibid.*, p. 404.

²¹ Briscoe, A.B. See "Marriages," 9th February 1769. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV,

1769. December 18.—Mr. George Stanford, formerly a Lieutenant in ye Service.
1769. December 20.—Thomas de Rozario, inhabitant.
1769. December 25.—Mr. Thomas Bevan, Free Merchant.
1769. December 27.—John Bryan, a servant.
1769. December 27.—Mr. Richard Dickins, Assistant Surveyor.
1769. December 27.—Jacob Van Gard, Dutchman.
1769. December 28.—John Davis, a servant.
1770. January 5.—John Valk, Dutchman.
1770. January 10.—Charles Armston, Inhabitant.
1770. January 19.—Charles Turner, Master of a Pilot Sloop.
1770. January 28.—Alexander Brander, Overseer of Cooleys.
1770. February 1.—Thomas Theobald, Midshipman of the *Duke of Grafton* East Indiaman.
1770. February 5.—Robert Hodges, Mate of a Country Ship.
1770. February 6.—Richard Ballard, Inhabitant.
1770. February 6.—Mrs. Mary Handell, Widow.
1770. February 12.—Mr. Joseph Pochon, French Merchant.
1770. February 25.—Alexander Cunningham, Inhabitant.
1770. February 27.—Mr. John Heylass, Free Merchant.
1770. February 28.—Mr. Robert Miller, Free Merchant.
1770. March 2.—Henry Peters, Overseer of Cooleys.
1770. March 22.—Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Joshua Nixon²⁷ and Ann, his wife.
1770. April 6.—Francis Fowler, formerly Captain of an East Indiaman.
1770. April 7.—William Atkins, Inhabitant.
1770. April 15.—Mr. Peter Hitchcock,²⁸ Lieutenant in ye Company's Service.
1770. April 25.—John, Son of John Reed²⁹ of Council.
1770. April 27.—John Hitch, Soldier. Shot for desertion.
1770. May 11.—John Hayes, Master of Pilot Sloop.
1770. May 17.—Elizabeth Frederick, an Infant.
1770. May 17.—Mr. John Downman, 4th Mate of the *Prince of Wales* East Indiaman.
1770. May 18.—Mather Camady, Inhabitant.
1770. May 19.—Simon Frazer, Cadet.
1770. May 21.—Charles Barber, Ensign in the Company's Service.
1770. May 21.—George Stowe, Purser of Country Vessel.
1770. May 25.—John Sherburn, an Infant.

²⁷ Nixon, E. See notes 27 and 34 *supra*.

²⁸ Hitchcock, P. Name misprinted "Hitzcock" in Godwell and Miles' *Army List*.

²⁹ Reed, J. See Notes 38 and 63 *supra*.

1770. May 30.—John Allen, an Infant.
 1770. June 3.—Mr. John Purling, Writer in the Company's Service.
 1770. June 3.—Thomas Cook, Esq.
 1770. June 3.—Charles Lindsay, Esq.
 1770. June 3.—Charles Forbes, Captain of a Country Vessel.
 1770. June 6.—Erasmus Bowman, Mate, in ye Pilot's Service.
 1770. June 8.—William Filewood,²⁰ an Infant.
 1770. June 8.—Francis Barnes, Midshipman of the *Prince of Wales* East Indiaman.
 1770. June 9.—William Blead, Inhabitant.
 1770. June 12.—John Macintosh, Captain of a Country Vessel.
 1770. June 13.—Mr. George Kerr,²¹ Captain in the Company's Service.
 1770. June 15.—William Hayward, Inhabitant.
 1770. June 21.—Rita de Rosario, a Portuguese.
 1770. June 21.—George Potts, an Inhabitant.
 1770. June 24.—Thomas Dollass, Merchant.
 1770. June 28.—Edward Stevens, an Attorney.
 1770. July 7.—Mr. Richard Lander,²² Lieutenant in the Artillery.
 1770. July 8.—Elizabeth Richard, an Infant.
 1770. July 9.—John Gordon, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 9.—John Jordan, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 10.—Andrew Pinnace, an Infant.
 1770. July 10.—John Reason, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 11.—Mr. Gibson Baird, Writer to Colonel Campbell.
 1770. July 15.—Christian Johnson, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 15.—Lacey George, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 15.—Rijo Armstrong, an Infant.
 1770. July 18.—Mr. Francis Smith, Ensign in the Company's Service.
 1770. July 18.—George Dring, an Infant.
 1770. July 19.—Alexander Kennedy, Captain of a Country Ship.
 1770. July 20.—Mary, daughter of John Johnson, Master in the Pilot's Service, and Joanna, his wife.
 1770. July 23.—Thomas Mason, Mate in the Pilot's Service.
 1770. July 23.—Matthew Flamank, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 25.—Mr. Francis Riley, Free Merchant.
 1770. July 25.—Robert Bascomb, Inhabitant.
 1770. July 26.—Sarah Enville.

²⁰ See note 20 *supra*.

²¹ Kerr, G. Spelt "Ket" in Dodwell and Miles.

²² Lander, R. Spelt "Landon" in Dodwell and Miles.

1770. July 30.—Richard Christian, Servant on board the *Duke of Kingston* East Indiaman.

1770. July 31.—Margaret Lowndes, an Infant.

1770. August 1.—Mr. Peter Fea, Chief Mate of the *Duke of Kingston* East Indiaman.

1770. August 4.—Mr. Alexander Armstrong, Lieutenant in the Company's Service.

1770. August 7.—Harman Logman, Pilot.

1770. August 7.—John Hunt, Mate of a Country Vessel.

1770. August 8.—William Collier, Inhabitant.

1770. August 9.—George Mitchell, Inhabitant.

1770. August 12.—Mr. John Cadman, Free Merchant.

1770. August 12.—Ann Moffat, an Infant.

1770. August 13.—Mary Ross, an Infant.

1770. August 14.—Mr. Charles Ingram, Factor in the Company's Service.

1770. August 17.—Mr. Thomas Rook, Writer in ye Company's Service.

1770. August 18.—Alexander Craig, Mate of a Country Ship.

1770. August 18.—Mrs. Ann Martindale,⁸⁸ Widow.

1770. August 19.—Joseph Sangster, Inhabitant.

1770. August 19.—Thomas Ballard, Inhabitant.

1770. August 23.—Robert Forest, Inhabitant.

1770. August 24.—Ann Winwood⁸⁹.

1770. August 25.—Mrs. Ann Staples, wife of Mr. Staples, Attorney.

1770. August 27.—Isabella Ross, an Infant.

1770. August 28.—Mr. Robert Cowan Kellet, Contractor to ye Army.

1770. August 28.—Mr. William Hipplesly Cox, Factor in ye Company's Service.

1770. August 28.—Hans, son of Hans More, Captain of a Country Ship, and Areta his wife.

1770. August 29.—Mr. James Fisher,⁹⁰ Lieutenant Fireworker.

1770. September 1.—Margaret, daughter of Hans More, Captain of a County Vessel, and Areta, his wife.

1770. September 2.—Mr. Stewart Blacker,⁹¹ Ensign in the Company's Service.

⁸⁸ Martindale, A. Name also spelt "Martindell." Possibly the mother of General Sir Gabriel Martindale about whom an article (signed "Fisewalter") appeared in the *Englishman* of 13th June 1906.

⁸⁹ Winwood, A. See note 44 *supra*.

⁹⁰ Fisher, Jas. The Christian name is given as "Abraham" in Dodwell and Miles.

⁹¹ Blacker, S. Possibly a relative to Lieut.-Col. V. Blacker, C.B., the historian of the Mahratta War. *Bengal Obituary*, p. 128.

1770. September 2.—James Rennie, Free Merchant.
 1770. September 4.—Peter Morean, Inhabitant.
 1770. September 6.—Robert Bellamy,⁸⁸ Inhabitant.
 1770. September 7.—David Balfour, Surgeon of the *Vansittart* East Indiaman.
 1770. September 8.—Joshua Austin, Overseer of Cooleys.
 1770. September 8.—Lawrence Killican, Sailor of the *Duke of Kingston* East Indiaman.
 1770. September 9.—Mr. Caleb Patient, Purser of the *Duke of Kingston* East Indiaman.
 1770. September 9.—William Hasdee, an Infant.
 1770. September 9.—Stephen Watts, Inhabitant.
 1770. September 9.—James Murray.
 1770. September 10.—Robert Cowley, Inhabitant.
 1770. September 10.—Mr. James Clairhew,⁸⁹ Lieutenant of Artillery.
 1770. September 13.—Thomas Blair, 3rd Mate of the *Vansittart* East Indiaman.
 1770. September 17.—Mr. Thomas Bertram, Lieutenant in ye Company's Service.
 1770. September 18.—Thomas Hass, Inhabitant.
 1770. September 21.—Robert Lamb, Mate of a Country Ship.
 1770. September 24.—Mr. Adam Dawson, Writer in the Company's Service.
 1770. September 24.—Mr. Walter Davis, Cadet.
 1770. September 25.—Joseph, son of Joseph Lucy.
 1770. September 25.—Mr. Thomas Crossley Cook, Writer in ye Company's Service.
 1770. September 25.—Edward, son of Edward Burslem and Elizabeth, his wife.
 1770. September 30.—Mr. William Askew, Free Merchant.
 1770. October 2.—William Cotes, Inhabitant.
 1770. October 5.—John Preston, Inhabitant.
 1770. October 5.—Thomas Truebridge, Mate of a Country Ship.
 1770. October 7.—John Hancorn, Mate of a Country Ship.
 1770. October 8.—Simon Rogers, Inhabitant.
 1770. October 11.—Mr. Charles Hawkins, Factor in the Company's Service.
 1770. October 11.—Elizabeth Moyland, widow.

⁸⁸ Bellamy, Robert. Probably a son of Gerrag Bellamy, Senior Chaplain, who perished in the Black Hole. See Hyde: *Parochial Annals*, p. 103 and p. 107.

⁸⁹ Clairhew, J. Spelt "Clarhew" in Dodwell and Miles.

1770. October 11.—Valentine Hoyle, Free Merchant.
1770. October 16.—Mr. Thomas Biggs, Lieutenant in ye Company's Service.
1770. October 19.—Charles Shearman, Servant on board the *Prince of Wales* East Indiaman.
1770. October 20.—Robert Lindsay, Captain of a Country Ship.
1770. October 20.—Charles Helew, Captain of a Country Ship.
1770. October 26.—Betha Newman, an Infant.
1770. October 29.—Mr. Daniel Hoissard, Free Merchant.
1770. November 3.—Joseph Roper, Mate of a Country Ship.
1770. November 7.—Mr. John Forbes, Surgeon's Assistant.
1770. November 7.—Boston Laas, Dutchman.
1770. November 13.—Alexander Murray, an Infant.
1770. November 15.—Allen McIntosh, Inhabitant.
1770. November 16.—Allen McIntosh, Captain of a Country Ship.
1770. November 18.————Foxcroft, Inhabitant.
1770. November 19.—John Woodward, Inhabitant.
1770. November 28.—Edward Fenn, Mate of a Country Ship.
1770. November 29.—Thomas Dingle, Inhabitant.
1770. December 4.—Daniel Castle, Master in ye Pilots' Service.
1770. December 5.—James Gray, Inhabitant.
1770. December 6.—Susanna de Rosario, Inhabitant.
1770. December 7.—John Black in the Pilots' Service.
1770. December 9.—Louisa de Rosario, Inhabitant.
1770. December 12.—Mr. Francis Stewart, Writer to Colonel Campbell.
1770. December 13.—Mr. William Whiffin, Pilot.
1770. December 13.—Charles, son of Phillp Leal²⁴ and Ann, his wife.
1770. December 18.—Rebecca Muspratt, Inhabitant.
1770. December 19.—Mr. Thomas Sinclair, Lieutenant of Engineers.
1770. December 22.—Mr. James McAndrews, Free Merchant.
1770. December 24.—John Cumming, Inhabitant.
1770. December 24.—William Partington, Inhabitant.
1770. December 29.—Mr. John Waddington, Captain in the Company's Service.
1770. December 30.—Edward Burslem, Inhabitant.²⁵
1771. January 3.—Manoah de Rosario, a Native.
1771. January 3.—George Dowle, Captain of a Country Vessel.
1771. January 5.—Thomas Showell, an Infant.
1771. January 6.—Manasses Rankin, Mate in the Pilots' Service.

²⁴ Leal, Phillp. Married a daughter of Chas. Weston. The Leals were a Roman Catholic family.

²⁵ Burslem, Edward. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 493.

1771. January 10.—Joseph Baxter, an Infant.
 1771. January 10.—John Blanc Garden, an Infant.
 1771. January 10.—Henry Clive Lilly, an Infant.
 1771. January 15.—Mr. John Anthony Vazeille, Captain in the Company's Service.
 1771. January 20.—Mr. Brown, Surgeon of the *Lord Mansfield* East Indiaman.
 1771. January 21.—John Brown, an Infant.
 1771. January 23.—Thomas Tritton, Free Merchant.
 1771. January 28.—Henry Hart, an Inhabitant.
 1771. January 29.—Sarah Hearn.
 1771. January 29.—Andrew Thompson, late Purser of an East Indiaman.
 1771. January 30.—Margaret Mackie, an Infant.
 1771. February 1.—Catherine Davis, an Infant.
 1771. February 12.—Samuel Hampton, an Infant.
 1771. February 19.—Ann Peters, an Infant.
 1771. February 21.—James Phillips, an Infant.
 1771. March 2.—Josiah DeCosta, inhabitant.
 1771. March 6.—John Boutant, an Infant.
 1771. March 16.—Charlotte Vannes, an infant.
 1771. March 27.—John Lodowick, inhabitant.
 1771. April 2.—Hamilton Peterson, formerly Captain of Country Staff.
 1771. April 8.—Ann Usher, an infant.
 1771. April 20.—Mr. William Siveright, Ensign in ye Company's Service.
 1771. April 22.—Mr. William Bolton Brereton, Captain in ye Company's Service.³⁰
 1771. April 23.—Mr. Charles Eaton, inhabitant.
 1771. April 4.—Martha Lilly.
 1771. May 4.—James Reed—in Mr. Lacan's³¹ Service.
 1771. May 6.—Mrs. Elizabeth Scott.
 1771. May 7.—William Mills—in Mr. Lacan's Service.
 1771. May 7.—John Gulling, Overseer of Cooleys.
 1771. May 10.—Elizabeth, daughter of John Swift, inhabitant.³²
 1771. May 20.—Christian Stewart, an infant.

³⁰ Brereton W. A Lieutenant Wm. Bolton Brereton commanded the lower deck battery of the *Arct* at the Siege of Chandernagore, 1757. See Ives: *Powage*, p. 129. "Lieutenant Brereton, the only Commission Officer on Board the *Arct* that was not killed or wounded."

³¹ Lacan, Mr. Most probably Mr. Benjamin Lacan, Free Merchant. See *Marriages*, March 25th, 1773. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 500.

³² Swift, J. Mariner. Died April 26th, 1791. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 77.

1771. May 22.—Mr. John Yeo, Writer in the Company's Service.
 1771. May 24.—Francis Hare, Esq., of Council.⁹⁹
 1771. May 28.—John Barber, inhabitant.
 1771. June 2.—Mr. John Hunter, Cadet.
 1771. June 4.—Joseph Light, infant.
 1771. June 5.—George Bennet, Deputy Commissary.
 1771. June 9.—Elizabeth Bennet.
 1771. June 11.—George, son of Mr. Richard Deans,¹⁰⁰ Deputy Master Attendant.
 1771. June 19.—William Robinson, infant.
 1771. June 29.—Moses Underwood, infant.
 1771. July 8.—Thomas Upkall, Servant.
 1771. July 11.—John Curtis, Sub-Assistant.
 1771. July 28.—Margaret, wife of Mr. Henry Wedderburn,¹⁰¹ Master Attendant.
 1771. July 30.—Thomas Allen, Mate of Country Ship.
 1771. August 3.—Mr. John Horn, Captain of the Horse East Indiaman.
 1771. August 3.—David James, Mate of a Country Ship.
 1771. August 13.—Robert Luramer, Servant.
 1771. August 17.—Ann Shearman, an infant.
 1771. August 24.—John Cox, Writer to Mr. Mountague.
 1771. August 29.—Mr. David Patton, Cadet.
 1771. August 30.—John Pool, Undertaker.¹⁰²
 1771. August 31.—Samuel Hick, an infant.
 1771. September 2.—Mr. Robert Lister—formerly an Officer in the Service.
 1771. September 2.—Thomas Vych, inhabitant.
 1771. September 6.—Hendrick Starenburg, Master in the Pilot's Service.
 1771. September 7.—François Berengier de Loche, inhabitant.
 1771. September 12.—John Hillings, Captain of a Country Ship.
 1771. September 16.—Mr. Henry Faester, Captain of a Danish East Indiaman.
 1771. September 18.—Abraham Limlad, inhabitant.
 1771. October 3.—John Mitchelson, inhabitant.

⁹⁹ Hare Francis. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 91.

¹⁰⁰ Dean, Richard. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol.

¹⁰¹ Wedderburn, Margaret. See *Moorings*, March 4th, 1773. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 499.

¹⁰² Pool, J. The earliest person to carry on an Undertaker's business in Bengal was Samuel Oldham. See *Buxted's Echoes*, p. 172, and *Bengal Obituary*, p. 75.

1771. October 16.—Mr. Joseph Anigus, Free Merchant.
 1771. October 17.—Peter Loney, Free Merchant.
 1771. October 20.—John Macbeth, Mate of a Country Ship.
 1771. October 20.—Richard Elliot, Mate in the Pilot's Service.
 1771. October 21.—Donald McDonald, Master in the Pilot's Service.
 1771. October 26.—Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Peter Speke¹⁰⁹ and Susanna, his wife.

1771. November 1.—Jacob Frederick, Master in the Pilot's Service.
 1771. November 3.—Hugh Munro, inhabitant.
 1771. November 6.—Mr. George Jolliffe, Cadet.
 1771. November 17.—Mr. Stephen Fromanteel, Cadet.
 1771. November 21.—John Macdowall, inhabitant.
 1771. November 24.—Mr. Ebenzer Perrot, Surgeon.
 1771. November 27.—Mr. John Williamson, Writer in the Company's Service at Bencooler.

1771. November 30.—Richard James, Mate in ye Pilot's Service.
 1771. December 11.—John Lindsay, Mate in ye Pilot's Service.
 1771. December 26.—Margaret Hunter, an invalid.
 1771. December 26.—Thomas Wood, one of the Charity boys¹¹⁰.
 1771. December 29.—Mr. Francis Bagot, Cadet.
 1771. December 30.—Alexander Christie, Free Merchant.
 1772. January 1.—William Moore
 1772. January 1.—John Dowry
 1772. January 1.—John Young
 1772. January 1.—Henry Martin
 1772. January 1.—John Stubbs
 1772. January 3.—Henry Barr, Soldier in the Artillery.
 1772. January 3.—James Marshal, Soldier in the Artillery.
 1772. January 12.—John Torrone, Gunner in the Artillery.
 1772. January 16.—Anna Miller, an infant.
 1772. January 21.—John Phillips in the Pilot's Service.
 1772. January 28.—John Brown, Captain of a Country Vessel.
 1772. February 4.—Thomas Conqueror, Mate in the Pilot's Service.
 1772. February 18.—Edward Wrench, Servant on Board of the *Clive* East Indiaman.
 1772. February 25.—William Fennel, 8th Mate of the *Clive* East Indiaman.

Soldiers in the Artillery killed by the bursting of a gun.

¹⁰⁹ Speke, Peter. Buried in the South Park Street Burial Ground. Died 30th November 1811, aged 66 years, when he was acting President of the Board of Trade and the Marine Board. Sudder Street was originally called Speke Street after him.

¹¹⁰ Wood, T. No doubt a pupil of the Charity School which was united with the Free School in 1790. See Hyde: *Parochial Annals*, p. 239.

1772. February 26.—David Lloyd, Inhabitant.
 1772. March 7.—Mr. Thomas Terry, Free Merchant.
 1772. March 24.—Francis McGhie, Captain of a Country Vessel.
 1772. March 29.—John Sutherland, Inhabitant.
 1772. April 3.—Mr. Edward Roch, Free Merchant.
 1772. April 4.—George Lyth, Inhabitant.
 1772. April 27.—Andrew Bisset, *alias* William Harris, executed for piracy and murder.
 1772. May 22.—Mary Beanland, an infant.¹⁰⁰
 1772. May 22.—Henry Mackenzie, an infant.
 1772. May 22.—Archibald Clark, a servant belonging to the *Colebrooke* East Indiaman.
 1772. May 22.—James Wilson, Free Merchant.
 1772. May 28.—Mr. Charles Bristow, a Cadet.
 1772. June 3.—Charles McAllaster, Overseer of Boats.
 1772. June 10.—James Brown.
 1772. June 22.—Lucia, wife of Robert Palk, Esq.¹⁰¹
 1772. June 26.—William Sheltis.
 1772. July 1.—Robert McDonald, Mate in the Pilot's Service.
 1772. July 5.—Frederick Myers, Overseer of Boats.
 1772. July 8.—William Cornish of the Banksall.
 1772. July 22.—Ann, wife of Joshua Nixon.¹⁰²
 1772. July 23.—Mr. Thos. Martin, Surgeon in ye 3rd. Brigade.
 1772. July 23.—James MacLauchlin.
 1772. August 6.—Alexander Renny, as infant.
 1772. August 10.—Mr. Charles Simpson, a Free Merchant.
 1772. August 10.—Mr. Thos. Child.
 1772. August 27.—Peter Chapman.
 1772. August 28.—Mr. Grant, Cadet.
 1772. August 30.—Elizabeth Notley, an infant.
 1772. September 1.—Jacob Talbry.
 1772. September 3.—Mr. Claude de la Porte.
 1772. September 4.—James May, Inhabitant.
 1772. September 5.—Thomas Ledgerwood, a servant.
 1772. September 5.—Mr. William, Steward.
 1772. September 17.—Richard Hodge, a servant.
 1772. October 4.—Mary Mylie.

¹⁰⁰ Beanland, M. Probably a daughter of John Beanland, Merchant of Prince of Wales' Island (Pettang), who came out in the *Anson*, 1760. His descendants later on settled in Bengal.

¹⁰¹ Palk, Lucia. See "Marriages" 12th June 1770. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 496.

¹⁰² Nixon, Mrs. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 495. See also notes 27 and 52 *supra*.

1772. October 3.—Dominique Hopkins, a servant.
 1772. October 9.—Joseph, son of Martin Branwell, Pilot, and Francis, his wife.
 1772. October 9.—James Simpson, Inhabitant.
 1772. October 9.—Mary Levett, an infant.
 1772. October 24.—John Meyer, Overseer of Cooleys.
 1772. November 5.—Mr. William Benton, Captain in the Company's Service.
 1772. November 14.—Mr. William Hodgson, Cadet.
 1772. November 18.—Christopher Traught, Inhabitant.
 1772. November 19.—Mr. Charles Dempster, Writer in the Company's Service.
 1772. November 20.—Ann Hargrave.
 1772. November 23.—George Gauze, Master in the Pilot's Service.
 1772. November 24.—Mr. Thomas Gibson, Free Merchant.
 1772. December 7.—Mr. Donald McLeod, Ensign in the Company's Service.
 1773. January 3.—Thomas Oliver, Captain of a Country Ship.
 1773. January 6.—John Christopher Graaf, Dutchman.
 1773. January 10.—Patrick McTaggart, late Captain of a Country Ship.
 1773. January 10.—Robert Ashton, a Servant.
 1773. January 25.—Mr. William Cosby, Captain in the Company's Service.
 1773. January 27.—Mr. Shard, Cadet.
 1773. February 23.—John Graham, Mate in the Pilots' Service.
 1773. February 25.—Peter Beazly, Free Merchant.
 1773. March 2.—John Fisher, Inhabitant.
 1773. March 19.—Frederick Peter Ohman, a Dane.
 1773. March 20.—Henry Sheppard, Inhabitant.
 1773. March 28.—Mr. Richard Dean,¹⁰⁸ Deputy Master Attendant.
 1773. April 1.—Alexander Mackier, in Major Watson's Service.
 1773. April 3.—John Dark, Inhabitant.
 1773. April 4.—John Downs, Inhabitant.
 1773. April 14.—George Dorrey, Keeper of Bridewell.
 1773. May 12.—Louisa Ann, daughter of Mr. Simeon Droz¹⁰⁹ and Frances his wife.
 1773. May 20.—Robert Hannay in Colonel Lilliman's¹¹⁰ Service.
 1773. May 28.—Thomas Fargiter, Inhabitant.

¹⁰⁸ Dean, Richard. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V, p. 139.

¹⁰⁹ Droz, S. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 493.

¹¹⁰ Hannay, R. For Colonel Lilliman (Lillyman). See footnote 105 *infra*.

1773. June 2.—Peter Gilbridge, an Infant.
 1773. June 12.—Richard Prosser, a Servant.
 1773. June 15.—John Graham, Inhabitant.
 1773. June 20.—Mr. Arnold McDonald, formerly an Ensign in the Service.
 1773. June 21.—Amy May, daughter of Mr. Charles Sealy¹¹¹ and Mary, his wife.
 1773. June 21.—Archibald, son of Archibald Robertson and Mary, his wife.
 1773. July 4.—John Hunter, an Infant.
 1773. July 14.—James Anderson, Inhabitant.
 1773. July 27.—Joseph Clapham, Inhabitant.
 1773. August 16.—James Orton, Servant to Mr. Aldersey.
 1773. August 16.—William Partridge, a Servant.
 1773. August 18.—Mr. Robert Broadhurst, Writer in ye Company's Service.
 1773. August 21.—James Lewis Barber.
 1773. August 21.—William Dupee, Inhabitant.
 1773. August 25.—Samuel James Barber.
 1773. August 29.—Joseph Osborn, Inhabitant.
 1773. September 1.—Mr. Joseph Bryant, Attorney-at-Law.
 1773. September 2.—William Pen, a Servant.
 1773. September 3.—Mary, wife of Mr. Ed. Smith,¹¹² Writer in ye Company's Service.
 1773. September 7.—Mr. George Rockfort, Writer in ye Company's Service.
 1773. September 15.—John Rope, a Dutchman.
 1773. September 21.—William Todd, Inhabitant.
 1773. September 24.—Mr. William Broughton, Writer in ye Company's Service.
 1773. September 28.—Charles William Teesdale, Writer in ye Company's Service.
 1773. September 29.—John Elliot, Inhabitant.
 1773. October 3.—Robert Allen, Purser of ye *Bridgewater*.
 1773. October 5.—Ann Bonfield,¹¹³ an Infant.
 1773. October 7.—William Rennie, Mate of a Country Ship.

¹¹¹ Sealy, C. See "Marriages," 14th February 1772. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 498.

¹¹² Smith, E. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 69.

¹¹³ Bonfield, A. Probably the daughter of Wm. Bonfield, Auctioneer, after whom Bonfield's Lane is named. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 75.

1773. October 30.—Mr. Francis Moore, Lieutenant in ye Artillery.
 1773. November 1.—William Holmes, a Servant.
 1773. November 9.—Mary Hargrave.
 1773. November 9.—Robert Moore, Inhabitant.
 1773. November 13.—Thomas Martin, 5th Mate of ye *Bridgewater*.
 1773. November 14.—Thomas Turner, Overseer of Books.
 1773. November 17.—Michael Kelly, Captain of a Country Ship.
 1773. November 20.—Edward Sutton, Deputy Commissary of Stores.
 1773. November 24.—Louisa White, an Infant.
 1773. November 26.—Elizabeth Craul, an Infant.
 1773. November 26.—Mr. John Wright Baker, Ensign in ye Company's Service.
 1773. December 4.—Margaret Edman.
 1773. December 5.—Richard Ford, Servant to Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie.
 1773. December 6.—William Stacey, Inhabitant.
 1773. December 7.—Ann Watts, a Sergeant's wife.
 1773. December 18.—Barnabas Bartle, formerly Captain of an Indiaman.
 1773. December 22.—Mr. Andrew Brisbane, Lieutenant in ye Madras Establishment.
 1774. January 2.—James Stoney, inhabitant.
 1774. January 12.—Archibald Miller.
 1774. January 16.—John Jackson.
 1774. January 20.—Ensign James Graves.
 1774. January 24.—Mary, daughter of Mr. Peacock, inhabitant.
 1774. February.—William Menifie, late servant to Mr. Higginson.
 1774. February.—David Atkins, late servant to Mrs. Watts.
 1774. March 17.—John Mukoy, late servant to Mr. Higginson.
 1774. March 26.—Mr. Vaughan, inhabitant.
 1774. April 3.—Mr. John Dyer, inhabitant.
 1774. April 5.—Mary Nixon, a child.
 1774. April 17.—William Kraas, an infant.
 1774. April 23.—Elizabeth Sherwin, an infant.
 1774. April 28.—Thos. Williams, inhabitant.
 1774. April 30.—Godfrey Venssen.
 1774. May 1.—Mary Stuart, an infant.
 1774. May 3.—Richard Blackburn.
 1774. June 11.—John Grieves.
 1774. June 13.—Mr. John Robertson, inhabitant.
 1774. June 26.—John Caston, an infant.
 1774. July 6.—William Asby, a child.

1774. July 10.—Mr. Daniel Hard, Pilot.
 1774. July 15.—Alexander Robertson, a child.
 1774. July 20.—Mr. Hill Pettit, Writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 1774. July 28.—Mary Hutton.
 1774. August 1.—Lewes Macdonald, a child.
 1774. August 6.—Mr. Hugh Francis, inhabitant.
 1774. August 10.—Mr. Browne.
 1774. August 14.—Mr. James Bonwicke, son of Merchant in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 1774. August 20.—Thos. Mattison, inhabitant.
 1774. August 22.—Mr. Carter, inhabitant.
 1774. August 23.—William Taylor, of the *Swallow* Sloop of War.
 1774. August 23.—Mr. Robert Sheels, of ye Marine Service.
 1774. August 24.—Richard Mullin, inhabitant.
 1774. August 29.—Mr. Adam Fergusson, Attorney in ye Mayor's Court.
 1774. *September 2.—Mr. Thomas Morgan, inhabitant.
 1774. September 6.—Captain Nicholas Weller,¹¹⁴ late in the Hon'ble Company's Service at Fort St. George.
 1774. September 10.—Mrs. Carnel, inhabitant.
 1774. September 11.—Mr. John Curd, inhabitant.
 1774. September 13.—Edmund Bissick, inhabitant.
 1774. September 13.—Mr. Frederick Farrer, Factor in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 1774. September 13.—Mr. Robert Scott, inhabitant.
 1774. September 13.—Anna Maria Dare,¹¹⁵ an infant.
 1774. September 16.—Mr. Stair Hawthorn Stewart, inhabitant.
 1774. September 24.—Captain Christian Ulne Henson, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 1774. September 30.—Mrs. Margaret Dixon, wife of Captain Dixon,¹¹⁶
 1774. October 17.—Mr. William Robinson, inhabitant.
 1774. October 18.—Daniel Robinson, inhabitant.
 1774. October 30.—Mary Bear, an infant.
 1774. November 4¹¹⁷—Sophia, a child.
 1774. November 5.—Mr. Cleugh, Surgeon.

¹¹⁴ Weller, N. See Ives' *Voyage*, p. 111.

¹¹⁵ Dare, A. M. A goddaughter of the second Mrs. Warren Hastings. See *Marriages*, 13th November 1779. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 508.

¹¹⁶ "Dickson," Wife of Captain Thos. Dickson and daughter of Mr. Jas. Boillie. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 69.

¹¹⁷ The *Bengal Obituary* contains (at page 70) the name of Mrs. Frances Mellish who died on the 3rd November 1774, aged 30. Her name, however, is not traceable in the register before us.

1774. November 6.—Ann Lambeth, a child.
 1774. November 11.—Linuar, a child.
 1774. November 16.—Thomas Duffie, Coachman belonging to Mr. Laurell.
 1774. November 17.—Duncan Macklay, Workman in ye New Fort.
 1774. November 29.—William Baker, inhabitant.
 1774. November 30.—James Ben, a Lieutenant.
 1774. November 30.—William Murphy, inhabitant.
 1774. December 6.—Mr. James Daly.
 1774. December 10.—Captain Barber, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 1774. December 24.—Mr. Rodgers, inhabitant.
 1774. December 24.—Peter Blair, inhabitant.
 1774. December 25.—William Berry, a servant.
 1774. December 26.—Mrs. Musquide, inhabitant.
 1774. December 28.—John Houtes, inhabitant.
 1774. December 28.—James Lillyman,¹¹ Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER,
(Assisted by E. WALTER MADGE).



¹¹ Lillyman, J. Chief Engineer, Architect of Fort William, *See Bengal Obituary*, p. 70.





BUXAR FORT . River Face .

Buxar, and its Battle.



SOME time ago inclination led me to Buxar which lies at the western extremity of Bengal on the Ganges and not far from the Kamnasa. On my arrival I made my way to the Fort, first going into the cemetery which lies by the road. The cemetery contains many inscriptions of interest and unrecorded in the *Bengal Obituary*. Firstly, that to Sir Gabriel Martindell :

"In Memory of

Lieut.-General Sir Gabriel *Martindell*, K.C.B., who died on the 2nd January 1831, at the advanced age of 76 years, universally regretted as he lived beloved. He was an affectionate father, a kind friend and his charities knew no bound."

"Sir Gabriel

Entered the Honourable Company's Service in the year 1772; and during 58 years service, he never quitted *India*, was honoured frequently with responsible Commands; and in all the Service he was engaged in, obtained the approbation and thanks of Government, Commander in Chief and the Honble the Court of Directors."

"Blessed are the dead that die in the *Lord*." Revelation, Chap. XIVth Verse 13th.

"This tablet is placed by his affectionate son H. M.

I learn from Mr. E. W. Madge's article, in the *Englishman* for June 13th, 1906, entitled "A Forgotten Hero" that General Martindell served in the first Rohilla War in 1772. Later he went through the Mahratta Campaign of 1804-05 as a Colonel. He commanded in Bandelkhand in 1813-14 and afterwards in Nepal in 1814. Latterly he did good work in Orissa and died in command of Buxar. He appears to have been a fine character—liberal and popular, and to have had 58 years continuous service in the plains of India was indeed extraordinary. It is not known where he was born, but he was about 18 when he obtained his cadetship. Numerous children and grand-children of his are buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, including Henry Gabriel Martindell (1844), who was probably the H. M. of the above quoted epitaph. Besides those buried in Calcutta, Alexander, an infant son of the General's, lies beside his father at Buxar. This child died in 1829 aged 7 months and 10 days.

I here discovered the grave of the celebrated Chevalier Antoine de l'Etang, Knight of St. Louis, who was born on the 20th July 1757 and died

on the 1st December 1840. Opposite his monument is a similar monument to his son Eugene, a cadet in the Company's service who was at the time a Sub-Assistant in the Government Stud at Buxar and died before his father, in 1829, aged 26. In *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. I, No. 1, Page 27, and No. 2, Page 184, the Chevalier is said to have died at Ghazipur in Oudh. Perhaps this impression was due to *The Bengal Obituary* giving the epitaphs on the tablets in Ghazipur Church which are practically facsimiles of those on the graves in the Cemetery at Buxar.

Lastly, I must quote the epitaphs in full on the two interesting Mutiny graves as there are not many Mutiny monuments in Bengal.

(1) In Memory of

Captain Henry *Nason* and Lieut. : Henry *Dawson*
of the 2nd Battalion Military Train
who were killed in action whilst gallantly charging
at the head of their troops, the former
near Buxar on the 6th October 1858 and the latter *
at Jagdeespore on the 20th March 1858.

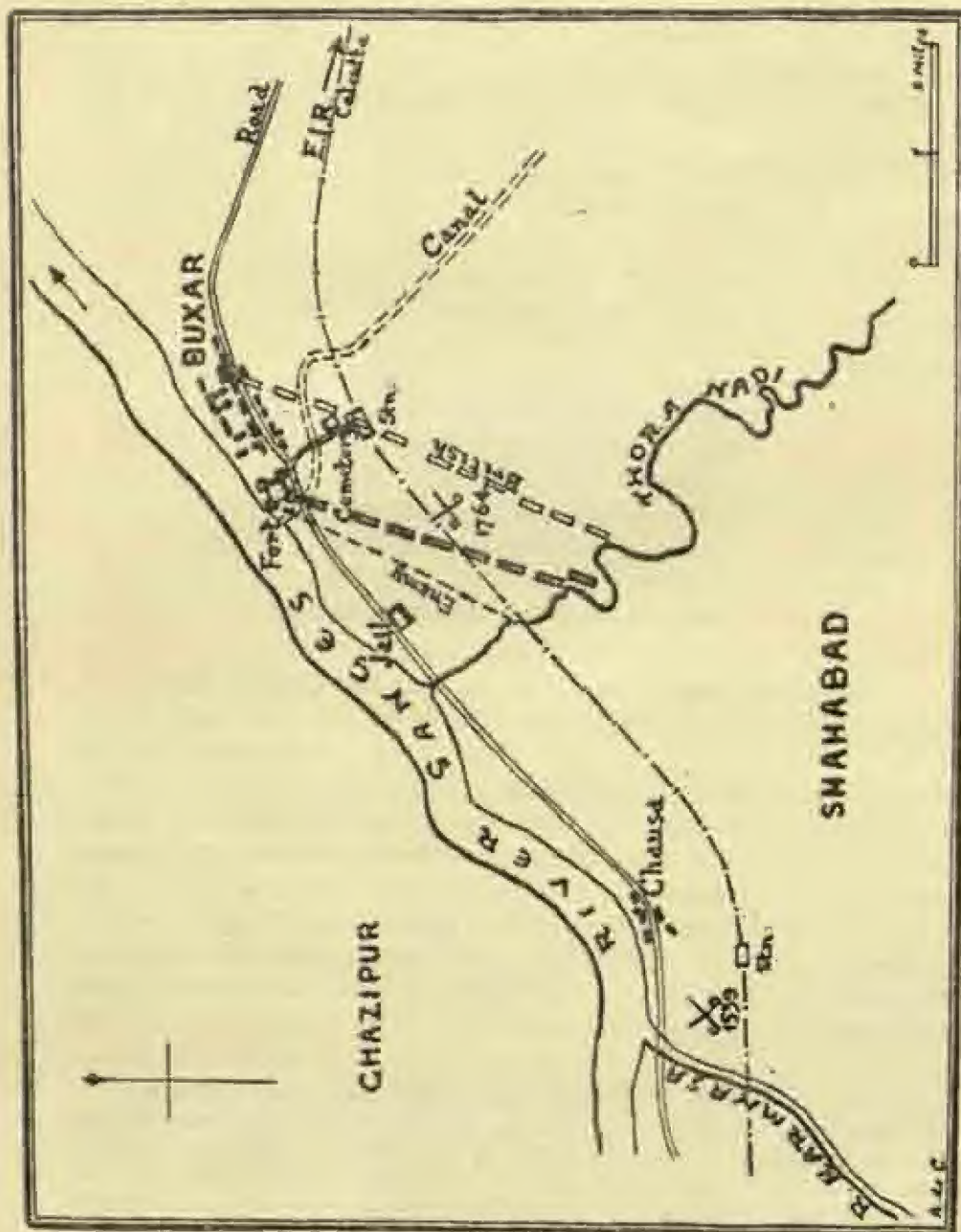
Also to the Memory of the non-com-
missioned officers and privates who
were killed and died from wounds
received in action at Jagdeespore
and in the Shahabad District of Behar.

(2) In Memory of

Captain James Sholto *Douglass* of the 4th Madras Light Cavalry,
who died here on the 8th October 1858 of a wound received in action with
the rebels at Kherree the previous day.*

Leaving the Cemetery and after crossing the Buxar canal which connects
with the Sone near Dehri one arrives at the Fort. This is a square brick
structure with circular bastions at each corner. It is close to the river bank
and no doubt the guns which used to peep out from the embrasures were
capable of commanding the Ganges and its traffic. The fort itself is small
but seems to have been protected once by outworks. Its history is unknown
to me but it must have been in existence prior to 1764 and was practically
rebuilt by the British. It too must have had a garrison of British and

* Besides these and two Naval Brigade graves, I give the names and dates on the earlier monuments :—Captain Peter Davis, 1788 ; Lieut. John Hamilton Smith, Adjutant and Quarter-Master, 5th Sepoy Brigade, 1789 ; the wife of Col. Hugh Stafford, 1803 ; Capt. C. H. Marley, 1803 ; Mrs. Ann Toone, wife of Lt.-Col. Toone, 1811 ; Major John Lindsey, 1817 ; Lt.-Col. James Maxwell, 1822 ; Capt. Alex. Cook, 1823 ; Major William Gage, 1828 ; Wm. Hickland Leesh, Esq., 1828 ; Lt.-Col. John Giblin, 1847 ; and Lt. Innes, son of Col. Innes, C. B.



Native troops for many years besides being Government Stud Depot till about the middle of the last century.

I had no time to see any of the other places of interest at Buxar, such as the Jail and the Town itself which according to Hunter's *Gazetteer* "is a place of great sanctity and is said to have been originally called Vedagarbha, the womb of the Vedas as many of the inspired writers of the Vedic hymns lived here."

I hurried on to see more of the battlefield of Buxar. Accompanying this article is a sketch plan based on Malleson's description* and on the present maps. From it it will be seen that the Fort was the enemy's left position while the British faced them with *their* left near the Thora Nadi. The dotted line on the plan with the word *Enemy* written along it represents the approximate position of the enemy's intrenchments; from which they were foolish enough to advance on the morning of the day of the battle, the 23rd October 1764.

It will be remembered that after Udwa Nala and the Patna Massacre (September, 1763), Mir Kasim retired into Oudh to implore the assistance of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula. He eventually obtained this assistance, and with his own troops commanded by Sombre and Madoc he was joined by Shuja and his strong and numerous army. Mir Kasim was afterwards cast out by Shuja and was not himself present at Buxar. Some time before too, the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had come with a few followers on a similar errand for assistance; and he was kept more or less a prisoner in Shuja's camp throughout the campaign. The English on hearing of this confederacy and of its advance on Bengal, went on from Patna to meet them at the River Kamnasa.

The English were in the neighbourhood of the Kamnasa south of Buxar from January 1764, except when they fell back on Patna in April under Carnac who proved himself an incapable commander. This backward movement resulted in the sharp action under the walls of Patna on the 3rd May, whither Carnac had been followed. One cannot but also mention here the numerous mutinies which took place during this campaign, firstly in the camp near the Kamnasa among the mixed† European and the Native Battalions. This mutiny was partly due to the reward given to the troops by Mir Jafar being withheld by the Calcutta Council. Eventually after much trouble and a number of desertions the money came, but it was unfairly distributed by Captain Jennings who was temporarily in command of the army in Behar. The Europeans received six times the amount the

* *The Decisive Battles of India.*

† Besides English there were four French companies (one under Claud Martin who himself remained loyal), and some Dutch from Biderra and Germanya.

sepoys were allowed and this led to a second mutiny among the native regiments which was however quelled with fresh concessions. Then came Major Carnac to take over command, who was not beloved among the officers or the men. He fell back, as has already been stated, on Patna, and his dilatory conduct no doubt led to the third mutiny which took place just when Sir Hector, then Major Munro (the Victor of Buxar), was ordered to take over command from Carnac. This third mutiny happened at Manjhi where there was a Sepoy Battalion under Captain Galliez, but before much harm was done another native battalion (the 6th) from Chapra under Captain Trevannion surprised the Manjhi sepoy, who surrendered to their native comrades. This was extraordinary as Trevannion had no European troops at the time to back him up.* On the 13th August Munro arrived at Chapra and at once took decisive action to stop mutinies; he blew 24 of the ring-leaders from the guns.

From then onwards, under Munro, the arrangements to bring the Nawab Vazir to bay were rapidly carried out. During his advance there were two minor engagements, one at the crossing of the Sone and the other on the Banas near Arrah. He arrived at Buxar with the enemy at his front on the 22nd October and he there desired to rest his troops on the 23rd before attacking, but the enemy's advance on the morning of that day, before mentioned, somewhat surprised the British.

In the order for battle, Major Munro's army was arranged as follows: The right centre under Captain Wemyss consisted of the Marines, 84th, 89th and 90th Regiments. The left centre under Captain Macpherson, consisted of two Bombay and two Bengal Regiments and the Honorable East India Company's Europeans, while on the right and left flanks were two battalions of sepoy. The second line consisted of 200 of the Bengal European Battalion and two battalions of sepoy on either flank, there were besides 28 light guns and about 1,000 cavalry, in all, exclusive of officers and sergeants, 7,072† men, of whom 857 were Europeans. The right and left wing commanders were Majors Champion and Hibbert respectively, while Major Pemble commanded the second line. The enemy's numbers were superior and besides they held a strong pre-chosen position, in the battle they lost about 2,000 killed besides wounded, together with 133 cannon and 12 lakhs worth of booty!

In the grey dawn of that October morning, 1764, the enemy were discovered advancing, covered for the most part by the groves of trees and the lowlying mists. They opened fire before Munro's guns were within

* Manjhi in the Saran District on the Gogra, some miles west of Chapra. Carey says it was Captain Wemyss who commanded and that he had marines with him.

† Of these the British lost 847 killed and wounded of whom 9 were European Officers.



CHEVALIER DE L'ÉTANG'S TOMB AT BUXAR.
(Photo by A. de Casson, Esq.)



GENERAL SIR G. MARTINDALL'S TOMB AT BUXAR.
(Photo by A. de Casson, Esq.)



THE OLD BRIDGE OVER THE DAKRA NALA.
(Photo by A. de Casson, Esq.)

range and he had to move forward in the face of this cannonade. Besides, the English had barely time to form, their baggage was temporarily captured and the enemy's strong cavalry then attacked the second line; In the meantime Munro had advanced his infantry on the right wing with success, however as more of the enemy's cavalry was seen coming up he had to reinforce the infantry before they could drive back the enemy on the right permanently. Meanwhile in the other parts of the field the battle was being hardly fought, for the enemy besides being superior in numbers were exceptionally brave and it was only the steadiness of Munro's troops that won the day; then again a panic was caused owing to the Nawab Vazir's men in the fort being surprised and to their retreating in disorder. A general retreat followed, and as soon as the Nawab Vazir was safe with his regular troops and treasure, across the Thora Nadi, he broke the bridge of boats and abandoned the rest of his army to Munro. This act caused a most panicstricken rush into the flooded waters of Nadi, where pressed by the English the enemy were killed and drowned in great numbers.

There is no doubt that Shuja-ud-daula was a most able commander which was proved more perhaps at Patna than at Buxar. The army under him too were brave—the Shekhzadi and Durani (Afghan) cavalry and the European officered infantry and artillery alone were most respectable troops. But this hard-fought battle was a trial for pluck and steady discipline which was irresistible in the British and British-trained battalions.

I will conclude in the words of Mallson:—"Had the English been badly beaten—and defeat would have meant annihilation—Shuja-ud-daulah would not have stopped short of Calcutta. What were the consequences of his defeat? Buxar was fought on the 23rd October 1764. By the following February the English had subdued the country as far as Allahabad, including Chunar; in March they had overrun Awadh (Oudh), occupied Fyzabad and Benares and Lakhnau, beaten the enemy at Karrah, again at Kalpi on the Jamna, and finally forced the Nawab-Vazir—a 'houseless wanderer'—to throw himself upon their generosity. The extent of the territory conquered alone prevented the English from, at the time, taking the fullest advantage of their victory."

Before I left for Calcutta I visited the celebrated River Kamnasa, for thousands of years the boundary of States, and the accursed stream of Hindu mythology. "No person of any caste will drink or even touch its waters, except persons permanently residing on its banks," says Sir W. W. Hunter in *The Imperial Gazetteer*. In the plan of the battle of Buxar cross-swords and the date 1539 are shown near the village of Chausa. This refers to the scene of the defeat of the Emperor Humayun by the Afghan Sher Shah in June of that year. Humayun was badly beaten for he was cornered between

the Kamnasa and Ganges and only just had time to escape across the Ganges, it is said on a *massak*. When Humayun returned to power he honoured the owner of the *massak*, a poor *bhisti*, by allowing him to reign for half a day on the throne of Delhi. No less than 8,000 Moghal troops were killed at Chausa and Humayun was again defeated the next year at Kanauj, near Farukhabad, Sher Shah then becoming Emperor, but only temporarily.

Now, where once the ground was thickly strewn with dead and wounded and disabled guns and other wreck of battle, are quiet fields of yellow mustard flower blending with the blue of the linseed. The Kamnasa and Thora Nadi flow calmly and clearly and not blood-red as in those days of 1539 and 1764.

A. F. C. DE COSSON.



Extracts from the Diary of Emily, wife of John Talbot Shakespear, Bengal Civil Service.

INTRODUCTION.



IN the *Roundabout Papers*, Thackeray writes: "In one of the stories by the present writer, a man is described as tottering 'up the steps of the ghaut' having just parted with his child, whom he is despatching to England from India. I wrote this, remembering in long distant days such a ghaut, a river stair, at Calcutta: and a day when, down these steps to a boat which was in waiting, came two children, whose mothers remained on the shore. One of these ladies was never to see her boy any more: and he too, is just dead in India 'of bronchitis, on the 29th October.'" The lady "who was never to see her boy any more" was the writer of the Diary, from which, by the kind courtesy of her grandson, Colonel J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., the present Resident at Imphal, Manipur, we are able to offer the following extract. Her son was none other than "the brave, the gentle, the faithful Christian soldier" the future Sir Richmond Shakespear the father of the Resident at Imphal.

In 1803 Emily Thackeray, the daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray and his wife (*née* Amelia Richmond Webb), was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, to John Talbot Shakespear of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service. She was the sister of Richmond Thackeray to whom, by his wife (*née* Anne Becher) was born on 18th July 1811 a son, the future novelist W. M. Thackeray. Sir William Hunter in his charming but somewhat inaccurate *The Thackerays in India* quotes from the Diary we are now so fortunate as to be able to publish. He writes: "Her Journal, jotted down for her children at School in England, discloses the clear eyesight and rapid realistic style which seem to have been the common inheritance of the Thackerays in that generation." Sir William notices three of Emily Shakespear's children:—

Colonel John Dowdeswell Shakespear, the eldest son.

Augusta, and daughter, the wife of General Sir John Law, "who crowned his splendid services in camp and courts as British Resident in Oudh during the critical years preceding its annexation.

Colonel Sir Richmond Shakespear, of whom we shall very shortly have occasion to write at considerable length.

Emily Shakespear died in Calcutta and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, where her tomb with the following inscription will be found—

To the memory of
Emily, wife of J. T. Shakespear
of the Bengal Civil Service
Died the 29th September, 1824, aged 40.

Close by is a memorial to her husband, J. T. Shakespear, who died on his voyage on the *Ross* to the Cape and was buried at sea—

Sacred to the memory of
JOHN TALBOT SHAKESPEAR,
Who died on board the H.C. ship "*Ross*,"
on the 12th April, 1825.

In testimony of their sincere regard for the sterling qualities which distinguished this lamented individual, his surviving friends have erected this cenotaph, as a tribute of his worth and a memorial of their regret.

John Talbot Shakespear was a son of John Shakespear, Chief of Dacca in 1778. I am informed by Colonel John Shakespear that his great grandfather was "born in 1749, and died at Cheltenham, 10th January 1825, and is buried in the church of Laycork Abbey, with his first wife, Mary Davenport, daughter of John Ivray Talbot of Laycork Abbey. . . John Shakespear left India in 1784, and settled at Brookwood in Hampshire. He is reported to have won the Derby in 1811 with a horse called Phantom, and to have had a yacht at Cowes in 1822." John Shakespear was a loyal disciple of Warren Hastings, who presented him with a statuette of Shakespear which is among the family heirlooms.

Dodwell and Miles' *Civil List* affords the following list of John Talbot Shakespear's appointments—

Date of rank as writer, October 13, 1800.

1803. August 11.—Assistant to Collector, Beerbhoomi.

1804. August 1.—Assistant to Secretary and to Persian and Bengal Translator to the Board of Revenue.

1805. October 15.—Officiating Collector, Rajshahye.

1807. March 5.—Assistant to Superintendent of Stamps.

1808. October 21.—Sub-Secretary Board of Revenue.

1809. June 19.—Registrar, Suder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlat.

1812. Jan. 1.—Judge and Magistrate of Nuddea.

1813. June.—Acting Superintendent of Police, L. Provinces.

1814. Feb. 25.—Superintendent of Police, Bengal, Behar and Orissa; Superintendent of Police, Western Provinces.

1818. Oct. 23.—Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna and 1st Magistrate of Patna.

1821. Feb. 27.—Puisne Judge, Suder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlat.

1823,* Feb. 27.—Member of the Presidency Record Committee.

The appointment as Superintendent of Police, Western Provinces must have been a rather adventurous undertaking, for it meant the establishment of preventive police in part of the district ceded in full sovereignty to the East India Company by the treaty with Daulat Rao Sindhia on the 30th December, 1803. For several years the Government had placed their confidence in Dyaram, and had neither insisted on the demolition of his fortress of Hatras or the reduction of the large military establishment maintained by him. Finding that their reliance had been misplaced, the Government on 27th December 1818, instructed J. T. Shakespear to insist on the surrender of Fort Hatras, the disbanding of Dyaram's troops, etc. Personal persuasion, however, failed, and military measures were in consequence resorted to: the Fort of Hatras was captured on 2nd March 1817.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

On the 20th of June 1814, we left Calcutta, embarked at the Chandpaul Ghaut, and having a favorable breeze reached Barrackpore (a distance of 16 miles) the same evening. Here the Governor-General has a house situated in a beautiful park on the bank of the River Hooghly, and passes much of his time in this agreeable retreat.

21st. Reached Chinsurah, where we proposed waiting the arrival of the Governor-General's fleet.¹ We took up our abode in a comfortable house, the walls of which are washed by the river. Our party consists of your father, myself, Harriet² and Mr. Macnab,³ who is your Father's assistant, and who makes himself very agreeable, your two brothers George⁴ and Richmond,⁵ and

* This year was memorable on account of a terrible hurricane on 27th May and high tides in October. See Sandeman, *Selections*, Vol. v., p. 548 et seq. P. 357 et seq.

¹ Extract from the Marquess of Hastings' *Private Journal*.—"June 24th, this day I quitted Calcutta in force having installed Sir G. Nugent as Vice-President. In strictness I cannot legally give him that title; but I wished to do it out of compliment, and it is only requisite that all acts of Council should be confirmed by him. We proceeded to Barrackpore, where all the boats are to collect. It will take three days to assemble them."

² *Harriet*.—Colonel J. Shakespear has been unable to trace who exactly this lady was. That she was a Shakespear is clear from the notice of her marriage in the *Asiatic Journal*.

³ *James Munro MacNab*.—Writer, July 29, 1805. On July 24, 1813, appointed Assistant to the Superintendent of Police, L. Provinces. He was Mint Master in 1821, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, 1822. After holding office in the Customs at Mirampur and latterly Benares, he retired on annuity on July 24, 1833.

⁴ *George Trant Shakespear*. Joined the E.I. Co's Civil Service on April 30, 1829. Assistant Magistrate and Collector at (successively) Nuddea, Murshidabad, Dinagpur, 1829-36. Commissioner in the Sunderbunds, September 27, 1836. Sent to investigate the matter of the Patterai Atty Taluk in the Jessore District. Commissioner of the Sunderbunds 1838-39. Magistrate of Midnapore and Hugli, 1840-43. Furlough, 1844. Died at Gobra, October 24, 1844.

⁵ *Richmond*.—Afterwards Sir Richmond Shakespear. Some of his letters will appear in the next issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

your little sister Charlotte Augusta⁶ we left in Calcutta with her Aunt and Name-Sake,⁷ and our family circle has suffered a melancholy diminution in the absence of these two dear and amiable individuals of it. Harriet will leave us in a few days on the occasion of her approaching marriage with Mr. Bennett. Chinsurah⁸ is a neat town, and was formerly a Dutch Settlement, but is now in the possession of the British Government.

28th. The Governor-General's fleet reached Chinsurah and made a gay and brilliant display on the River.⁹ The *Soonamookes* is a beautiful vessel lately built for his Lordship's accommodation. Its exterior is painted a dark green, and is richly ornamented with gold; the apartments, which consist of a Drawing Room, Bed Room and two Dressing Rooms with marble baths attached to each, are white and gold, and are handsomely fitted up with Green Morocco furniture.

Another Pinnacle of equal dimensions, and almost equal beauty with *Soonamookes* is appropriated to the conveyance of his Lordship's children

⁶ *Charlotte Augusta*. I presume this was the second daughter of the writer—afterwards the wife of Sir John Law.

⁷ *Her aunt and namesake*. Probably Augusta Thackeray, a sister of the writer. Mr. E. W. Mudge kindly sends me the following extract from the Marriage Register of St. John's, Calcutta:—

1816. Oct. 5. John Elliot (16), Bach. H. C.'s C. S. and Ange Thackeray, Sp. Wits. J. T. Shakespear, Ed. R. Barwell, J. M. Macnabb. By H. L. Loring, Archd.

J. Elliot (Elliot) was Judge and Magistrate of the Suburbs of Calcutta: he died Jan. 19, 1818. Aged 53. [His identity is not to be confused with that of the Hon. John Edmond Elliot (the first Lord Minto's son).] For the inscription on his tomb, see *Bengal Ordinary*, p. 200. And see Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. V., p. 234. Charlotte, the wife of Richmond Thackeray, the Novelist's mother, would have been not perhaps at Calcutta at the time, and she would have been the wife of the little girl's first cousin and not an aunt. Richmond Thackeray died and was buried in Calcutta on Sept. 13, 1815.

⁸ *Chinsurah* had been given back to the Dutch after the Treaty of Amiens, but was retaken in 1803, and was administered by a special Commissioner, first Mr. R. Biech and afterwards Mr. G. Forbes. For the rehoisting of the Dutch flag on Sept. 18, 1817, vide Crawford: *A Brief History of the Hughli District*, p. 39. Chinsurah was finally ceded to England on March 17, 1824. Most of the Old Dutch residents elected to remain under the British flag, and hence these amenities immortalised in *Bolo Pangis*—

Then if the weather, it was fine, to Chinsurah he'd go
With his pieces three in a pinnacle, and a smart young man or so,
In blue coats and waistcoats, which were sparkling as the day,
And curly hair, and white kid gloves, a lover-like array.
And at Chinsurah they walked about and then they went to tea
With ancient merchant Van der Zank, and the widow Van der Zoo.
They were old friends of Mr. Simms and parting he would say
"Perchance we ne'er may meet again." Alas and well a day!

⁹ Here Lord Hastings records (28th): "Embarked early in the morning: and our flotilla of something more than 220 boats, weighed anchor instantly. We brought up in the afternoon off Hooghly Mr. Brodie, Judge of Hooghly, and Mr. Paton, Judge of Kishinagar (whose district we enter to-morrow), came on board and dined with us. . . . Our pinnacle, the *Soonamookes*, is remarkably convenient, sails very well. The children have another vessel equally good. The heat of the weather

and their Governess, and a third for a Banqueting and Audience boat. A splendid Barge for the reception of the Band, a *Fulchurah*¹⁰ or State Barge . . . a large vessel fitted up with all the conveniences of a Kitchen, are also in attendance, the whole of them painted Green with gilt mouldings to match the State Pinnace. The fleet consists of about 400 boats. The following Paper will give you an idea of the order of sailing. A gun is fired morning and evening; the first as a signal for the fleet to get under weigh, the latter to bring to for the night, the boats are no sooner secured, than a most busy scene commences. The *Dandees*¹¹ who generally fast during the day, kindle their fires in all directions, and prepare to dress their dinners, which uniformly consist of an immense quantity of boiled rice and as much curry as they can afford. The quantity they devour at one meal would appear almost incredible, did we not reflect that these poor creatures toil from daybreak to night without tasting anything but perhaps some sweetmeats, or parched pulse. Indeed the life of a *Dandee* appears to be more laborious and more miserable than that of the generality of human beings; still it is observed that they are usually cheerful and in good condition, and when their labour closes for the day, seem to enjoy their evening repast.

On the afternoon of the 28th, we embarked, crossed the River and took up our allotted position . . . which had anchored off Hooghly about 3 miles above Chinsurah. Hooghly is a city of some antiquity; but now of little extent. It is pleasantly situated on the Banks of the River Hooghly which is an arm of the Ganges.

29th. We dined with his Lordship on board the *Castle* (the name of the Dining boat.) The party consisted of Lord Moira, Lady Loudoun and family, His Lordship's staff and one or two invited guests besides ourselves.

is excessive. It exceeded one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit in the cabins of the boats, in spite of all the mitigating precautions which luxury and experience have provided." On June the 29th the flotilla anchored off Santipore, where a heavy rain fell at night, but scarcely lowered the temperature. On the 30th: "All the natives declare that they had never known such hot weather before." They were met by Mr. Haldred, assistant Judge of Burdwan (the Judge, Mr. Byles, being absent). "The Rajah of Burdwan had prepared a curious salute for us—a number of small mines which were exploded consecutively with plenty of noise. We anchored half way between Santipore and Nulihat." The Governor-General complains much of the slowness of the journey—"the tracking of the boats against the stream was dreadfully fatiguing for the poor fellows."

¹⁰ *Fulchurah*.—Ful-Chelra="Elephant faced." Hastings writes, July 16, 1780: "My plan is to set off in my Ful-Chelra at two o'clock in the afternoon." This term, so frequently met with, deserves an article to itself in the next new edition of *Hobson-Jobson*.

¹¹ *The Dandees*.—Dandy=a boatman from H. and Beng. *found on me*. In *Hobson-Jobson* it is said that the term is peculiar to the Gangetic rivers. Bishop Hulse notes: "I am often surprised to observe the difference between my *Dandees* (who are nearly the colour of a black tanager) and the generality of the peasants we meet." By a "dandy" the average Englishman in Bengal in-day and-night stands a kind of sling hammock.

The Band of H.M. 24th Regiment played during the evening in the Barge which was anchored near us, and the effect of the music on the water was very pleasing.

After sitting the usual time at when the Company either amused themselves in listening to the music, or in conversation, till His Lordship wished them good night and retired with the Countess. They are both extremely polite and attentive to their Guests, and are so affable in their manner, that they render their Parties very agreeable and divest them as much as possible of ceremony.

July 1st. We arrived at Nuddea, here Harriet was married to Mr. Bennett,¹¹ and left us with her husband. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Mr. Thomason,¹² who accompanies the fleet as Chaplain to the Governor-General.

6th. We reached Berhampore,¹³ a large Military Cantonment on the banks of the River Bhagrutty. In the evening General Morris who commands here, entertained the Governor-General and his Suite at dinner.

9th. Lord Moira reviewed the troops cantoned at this station, after which he breakfasted with the officers of H.M. 17th Regiment. In the afternoon Lady Loudoun held a drawing room, and Mr. Brooke,¹⁴ the Senior Judge of

¹¹ Married to Mr. Bennett. *The Calcutta Gazette* July 7, 1814, records: "On the 1st instant at Nuddea Wm. Robt. Burton Bennet (1); H. C's Civil Service to Miss Harriet Shakespear." According to Dodwell and Miles' *List of Civil Servants*, Bennett died at Serampore June 1, 1820. *The Bengal Obituary* records the following inscription on a monument in the South Park Street Cemetery.—

Sacred to the memory of
W. R. B. BENNETT ESQ.
of the H.C. Civil Service, who departed this life
on the 28th of June, aged 34 years.

Mr. Mudge points out to me that a Lieutenant F. E. Burton (possibly a younger brother) is buried at Aligarh, *Vide Bengal Obituary*, p. 377.

¹² The Rev. Mr. Thomason, one of the famous "Evangelical Chaplains" of Bengal. A biography of him has been published and some interesting references to him and his home in Garden Reach will be found in J. G. Harvey Dalton's *The Life and Times of Miss Shakespear*. If my memory serves me right, Thomason was temporarily dismissed from Lord Hastings' Camp on account of a plucky protest against unnecessary travelling on Sunday. A sketch of his life will be found in the *Bengal Obituary*. A friend of Henry Martyn, Thomason is one of the Bengal Chaplains, learned in Oriental languages, from whom the first beginnings of the missionary enterprise of the Church of England originates. There is a tablet to his memory in the Old Mission Church.

¹³ *July 6th.* I got my horse very early, and rode to the field of Plassey; distant about four miles. One tree alone remains to mark where the rope stood; and, between the change which has taken place in the course of the river and the obliteration of the entrenchments by the plough, no traces exist whence one can form a notion of this action. Things are very different to-day. Plassey is now a far more profitable field of research than Waterloo, where the level of the field of battle has been destroyed by the unfortunate monument crowded by a lion with its tail turned on Paris.

¹⁴ *Mr. Brooke.*—Lord Hastings speaks of him as having "seen many years of the Nizama affairs." The old civilisation of Berhampore has long since been abandoned. Lord Hastings says that Mr. Brooke's house was "about five miles from Berhampore and scarcely less from Moorshedabad."

the Moorshedabad Court of Appeal, in the evening entertained His Lordship at dinner at his house at the Civil Station, about 8 miles from Cantonments. Your father drove there in our buggy and we found a numerous party assembled. As we had 8 miles to go, and the same distance to return to our boats, I felt not a little fatigued when the day was over. Moorshedabad was the capital of Bengal until the establishment of the British power. The city is modern, it is extensive but irregular, and ill built, nor does it boast of any handsome buildings. The distance from Calcutta is about 120 miles.

12th. Sailed up to the City of Moorshedabad, about 7 miles from Berhampore. Here the Nawab of Bengal entertained Lord Moira, family and suite at his Palace.¹⁰ We reached it about midday, the Nazim went on board the *Soonamookhee* in his state barge or *Moorpunktee*,¹¹ so called from its having the figure of a Peacock at its prow. It was rowed by about 40 men dressed in scarlet caps and jackets, and using paddies instead of oars. In this the Nawab conducted the Governor-General and the Countess, accompanied by their Staff to the Ghaut from whence they proceeded to the Palace in the State palanquins and we all followed. We found a long table prepared for breakfast, in a saloon remarkable for anything but magnificence.

His Highness placed Lord Moira on his right and Lady Loudoun on his left hand, and the rest of the company took their seats indiscriminately. The Nawab wore some splendid diamonds in his Turban, and emeralds and pearls on his arms and neck, but they did not show to advantage on him, whose person is as vulgar as his manners are bad.

During breakfast a succession of *hookahs* were brought to him of each of which he partook, the *hookahburdah*¹² presenting the *hookahs* to his mouth, it being too great an exertion as well as condescension for a man of his rank to support it himself. After breakfast the presents were exhibited. These were very numerous and handsome consisting of Jewels, Shawls, Muslins, Gold and Silver Cloths, etc., etc., they were brought in on trays covered with gold and silver cloths, and arranged on the floor for his Lordship to inspect. Presents are generally accepted on the part of the Governor-General, and transmitted to the Political Office, where they are disposed of by Public Auction, and the Government is thus indemnified partially for the cost of the articles presented by them in return. The Nawab then tendered

¹⁰ *The Palace*.—The building of the Palace, designed by Colonel Duncan McLeod, was not commenced till Aug. 29. 1829, nor completed before December 1837. In the *Memoir of Bishop James*, p. 147: "The Nawab still has his court here, and a fine palace is now being built for him, but his present residence is mean and shabby." The Nawab at the time of Lord Hastings' visit was Zain-ud-daen Ali Khan, better known as Ali Jah.

¹¹ *Moorpunktee*.—See article in *Asiatic Journal*.

¹² *Hookahburdah*.—*Hookah*—the Indian pipe for smoking through water. *Hukla-bondar*, "hookah-bearer," the servant whose duty it was to attend to his master's native pipe. See the interesting

*Pawn*¹⁹ and Otto of Roses to the Earl and Countess and threw over their shoulders wreaths of gold and silver foil. The company then underwent the same ceremony according to their respective ranks. Lady Loudoun after this prepared to visit the *zenana* or female apartments. I forgot to mention in its proper place that the road immediately leading from the Ghaut was lined with the Household Troops of His Highness, and the outer courtyard by elephants, camels, and horses richly caparisoned, a few of the elephants bearing splendid gold and silver howdahs, and jhools composed of velvet and cloth richly embroidered in gold and silver. We first paid our respects to the Mother of the Nawab. She rose on Lady Loudoun's approach, embraced her and placed her on a seat next herself, she also embraced all the ladies on their entrance. She was a cheerful old lady, had some remains of beauty, and was very courteous in her manners. She wore a turban of pale yellow and a dress of the same colour, but no jewels. She smoked her *hookah* the whole time we remained with her. The old Lady presented her seven daughters to the Countess, they were all grown up; some of them apparently not very youthful, all plain and generally dark, consequently they did not form a very lovely group. The conversation was conducted through the medium of an interpreter (who was placed on the other side of a curtain) as Lady Loudoun does not understand the native language. On her Ladyship signifying her intention to leave, the presents were produced. They were much the same as those offered to his Lordship but fewer in quantity. The Begum with her own hands offered a superb diamond necklace, which she very earnestly, though in vain, entreated her Ladyship to accept. She declined everything except a small shawl, which she accepted and said she should preserve it as a token of her Highness' regard. We next proceeded to visit the favorite wife of the Nawab. To reach her apartments we were obliged to walk some distance exposed to the sun, which was excessively powerful, and we had also to traverse several dark and dirty passages. These intricate and narrow entrances to their *zenana* were, I believe, originally designed with a view to their security, as affording an easy means of defence. There is a great mixture of magnificence and meanness in the dwellings as well as in the entertainments of the natives. The Countess was accompanied by Lord Moira, and the Gentlemen of the

questions in *Holmes' Journal*, to which it is interesting to add from Thackeray the *Newcomes*, "Their lives are not out of order any more; and as for hookahs I dare swear there are not two now kept alight within the bills of mortality; and that retired Indians would as soon as think of smoking them, as their wives would of burning themselves on their husband's lodges at the country, Kamsal Green, seat to the Tyburnian quarter of the city which the Indian world at present represents. Vol. I., p. 31 (1st Edn.)

¹⁹ *Pawn*. *Pan*.—*Bete*. *bet*.—or the combination of *betel*, *areca nut*, *lime*, etc., offered in *visitas* to intimate the termination of a visit.

Suite, who were not, of course, permitted to enter the interior of the apartments; Lord Moira conversing with the several Begums through a purdah or curtain. We found the Begum surrounded by her female attendants. She was a little woman and had a pretty countenance, but it was devoid of animation, and her complexion was dark. She was apparently very timid, and at a loss how to conduct herself. Her dress was white-muslin, and she wore a profusion of diamonds on her head, ears, arms and neck; and to complete all a large diamond was suspended from her nose. Her apartment was small and shabby, but we were informed that it was not her usual residence.

From hence we adjoined to the apartments of the second wife. She was neither so young nor so handsome as the lady we had just left; but her dress was more gay, and her jewels appeared to be nearly as splendid. After presenting presents, we were presented with *Paten* and Foil wreaths which ceremony was repeated by each of the Begums. We now gladly returned to our boats, quite exhausted with heat and fatigue. Your little brothers were greatly delighted with the tinsel wreaths which I had carefully preserved for them. The fleet now crossed the river and anchored. The Nawab proposing to entertain the Governor-General in the evening at a Palace which he has built on the opposite banks, we repaired thither at the appointed time, and found a very good house fitted up in the English style. The amusement of the evening consisted of Nautching,²⁰ and Native Pantomime, and Fireworks which were very beautiful. The whole concluded with a supper which, if not remarkably good, was abundant in the extreme. The table appeared to groan under the weight of food. There was an abundance of ice which at this season is a variety no less than a luxury, and to this we were indebted for cool wine and water. It was midnight before we retired. Lady Loudoun was most splendidly dressed on this occasion. She wore a superb bandeau of diamonds and emeralds, diamond earrings and necklace. Her dress was lace richly embroidered in silver over pink satin. The Nawab appeared nearly as in the morning.

13th. We sailed from Moorshedabad.

14th. Reached Junghurpore²¹ where Lord Moira and family went on shore, and dined with Mr. Ramsay, the commercial Resident. The Company have established a silk factory here.

15th. We dined at headquarters.

²⁰ *Nautching*—Nautch—a kind of ballet.

²¹ Junghurpore.—(Jangpore, Jangpur, Ichangirpore) Lord Valentia (1802) describes this place as the greatest silk station of the E. I. Co. and employing 3,000 persons. Napoleon's Berlin Decrees gave an enormous but temporary stimulus to the silk industry of Bengal by cutting off the supply to England from Italy. In 1835 the Ichangirpur factory was sold to a Mr. Lavellette for Rs. 51,000. Mr. Ramsay entertained Bishop James at the factory on July 12, 1848. Lord

16th. Entered the Ganges through a cut lately excavated.²²

17th. We again dined at headquarters. Although we find these parties very agreeable, we experience some difficulty and sometimes alarm in going and returning.

19th. Reached Rajmehal.²³ We had for some days past been admiring a distant prospect of the Rajmehal Hills, which afford many beautiful and romantic views from the River. Rajmehal was once the capital of Bengal and was a splendid city. In the year 1638 it was consumed by fire and never from that period recovered its original magnificence. The River also has encroached on its banks, and swept away part of the city. There are the remains of a Palace on the banks of the river which will shortly become a mass of river. We last year passed a day within this Palace and lit up the

Hastings remarks:—"July 14th. The wind being fair and fresh we arrived at an early hour off Jungpore, where we had promised to stop (?) and dine with Mr. Ramsay. We examined the windings of his silk. The moths are four times of the size of those in Italy, and quite a different kind. The cocoons are small: three of them, I should imagine, would not contain as much silk as one of the Italian. We had an excellent dinner and slept on board."

²² *A cut lately excavated.* See Art. "The Banks of the Bhagirathi" in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI., December 1846. Lord Hastings: "July 5th. Reached the cut between the Baughretty [Bhagirathi] and the Ganges, near Sooty; early in the afternoon, but as the current was so strong against us, with an unfavourable wind, so as to make it clear that the getting through would be a long operation for the fleet, we brought to for the night. I walked to the cut to examine it. There had been in this place a small channel which when the waters were very high, afforded a temporary and occasional communication with the Ganges. The obstruction to navigation experienced for some months every year, on account of the shoals at the natural junction of the Baughretty with the Ganges, induced our Government to try whether by making a canal (in the direction indicated by the course of the flood) across a narrow sandy strip, a permanent communication might not be effected. The cut was accordingly undertaken. As soon as the water of the river was led into it the force of the stream achieved what was far beyond expectation. It has ploughed a channel of considerable depth, about 150 yards in breadth; and the flow of water through it is such as gives every reason to believe that the junction is secure for every season. July 16th. By daybreak we attempted the passage. It was a laborious undertaking, each boat having to be hauled through by large gangs from the neighbouring villages, added to their own crews. As soon as each got into the Ganges it could set its sails to a fresh wind, of course and distance between the vessels would have been occasioned had we not merely slanted up for a little way and then anchored near the foreshore. No village designated the place, but it was in a line with the ruins of Gour. As we passed through the cut, great masses of the elevated bank fell into the water. The force of the stream is rapidly undermining the Southern shore, and I should not be surprised were the Hooghly to become, in consequence, a still more considerable branch of the Ganges than it is now. The original course of the Baughretty into the Ganges, near Mohungunge, is likely to become impassable, except in the height of the floods." The neighbourhood of Sooty has, of course, become historical on account of Knor's victory at Gheriah.

²³ *Rajmehal*.—After the annexation of Orissa in 1591, Man Sing fixed upon the city of Agmahel as his capital and changed its name to Rajmahal (palace of sovereignty) as the capital of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. It was later on styled Akbarnagar. In 1658 Islam Khan removed the Court to Dacca (Zehangirnagar). Sultan Shuja strengthened Man Sing's fortifications, and transferred the seat of Government back to Rajmahal. The date of the fire alluded to by Mrs. Skakelport seems to have been 1640; Stewart (*History of Bengal*, p. 158) also notes that previous to

Marble Halls in the evening to the great astonishment of the bats, who had probably been in undisturbed possession of them for the last Century.

22nd. Mushoon. This evening Lord Moira and most of the gentlemen went out shooting and killed a fine tiger.

23rd. His Lordship, who is a keen sportsman, went out again at day-break this morning, in the hope of encountering another tiger. He was accompanied by several gentlemen amongst whom was your father and Mr. MacNab. They were unsuccessful. His Lordship passed the day with us, in order to be near the shooting ground in the evening. After breakfast he retired to Mr. MacNab's boat to take some repose, and rejoined us at tiffin. His Lordship bestowed much notice on the children, and was particularly pleased with George. The little fellow had long expressed a strong desire to see the Governor-General, and was greatly delighted to find his wishes thus realized.

25th. Reached Colgong³¹ which affords a beautiful view from the Ganges. The Colgong rocks, of which there are three, rise very gracefully from the

1640 "the course of the Ganges was along the northern bank, running under the walls of Gour; but since that period it pours its torrents against the rocks of Rajmahal, forming eddies and whirlpools, dangerous to the incursions of impatient traveller." In 1697 a Mr. John Anthony Testmaker, despatched to remonstrate with Prince Admer-Sh-Shah against the oppressive conduct of the officials at "Razmahall," was drowned in the river close to that place. In 1867 the river took yet another track of exprise and left Rajmahal three miles distant from its main course.

"Colgong. *Nalparoo*.—In 1782, Mrs. Hastings was Cleveland's guest at Bhagulpore. Hearing that her husband was dangerously ill—a fact he had vainly tried to keep from her ears—she would not wait for the arrival of a safe and steady *tadgerow* but took a slim and swift *julchakra*—"a little boat," writes Hastings, "which scarce served to conceal and shelter her, and in a tempestuous season and on a river which is almost equal to a sea." Of this act of bravery, Hastings wrote: "I can truly affirm that she brought it (health) to me, and I am willing to attribute my life and recovery to her." Off the Colgong rocks the boat was wrecked. A picture of the scene at which the disaster occurred was painted for Hastings by Hodges. Her deliverance was due to George Nevill Thompson, (see Sydney Grier, *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* p. 172-5.) On 20th November 1784, Hastings writes to his "Dearest Maria": "At 12 we passed the memorable rocks of Colgong. My companion was asleep. I awoke instinctively and as we approached them, and directed the *mangee* to steer between the rocks and the shore; my curiosity strongly impelling me to view something of the fatal eddy, the moon shining from her full orb, and the air quite clear. I was not wholly disappointed; for though the stream was smooth and undisturbed, I saw most visible the cause which had produced the whirlpool when the river was full; which was a *Naila*, now dry, and its channel some feet above the water of the river, thus (a rough miniature sketch follows). This in the heavy rains bringing down a torrent of water from the hills, and tumbling with impetuous force into the river, which from the confinement of its streams run in that part with increased rapidity, forces its direction against the Rocks, which it has worn into the form of a bay; and both tides meeting whirl round in a perpetual eddy. The mingled sentiments and sensations which this sight produced in my mind, of terror, delight, love, admiration, and enthusiasm, may be conceived by a spirit like yours, congenial with my own; but are not to be described. Blessed by that Being whose Providence has been extended in so wonderful an instance of its protection to the best object of its guardian care (and may that Providence be your unceasing defence to the latest of your natural life)—but how shall I deserve such goodness, who deserve the greatest blessings from it." (*Ibid.* pp. 337-8.)

river and add greatly to the beauty of the scenery. We were, however, doomed to contemplate the prospect longer than we wished, owing to an accident which happened to our boat. We were driven with such violence against a bank that our rudder broke in the concussion, and here we were compelled to remain until a new rudder could be made. Our misfortunes did not end here, for in the evening your father was informed that his dog boat had gone down, and the greater number of his valuable dogs had perished. This was very melancholy intelligence for so keen a sportsman as your father, however he bore his misfortune like a philosopher.

26th. We were detained by our rudder. George and I got into the Bowleah,²⁵ and rowed out in pursuit of the alligators, of which we saw great numbers floating in the shallows, some of them of an enormous size. Your father shot one or two of them.

27th. Our new rudder was completed and we once more set sail with a fine breeze. In the course of the day, Mr. MacNab rejoined us from Bangulpore, where he had gone on with the fleet. He informed us that Lord Moira had left Bangulpore, after having passed a day at that station with Sir F. Hamilton, the Collector. We passed Bangulpore but did not go on shore. We spent some days there last year. This station possesses many advantages both in situation and climate. The surrounding country is finely wooded and variegated with hill and dale, and therefore particularly pleasing to the eye which has only been accustomed to the uniform plains of Bengal.

A Mohamedan college was established and endowed here by the Emperor Jehanghier. Here is a manufacture of ginghams and nankeen, iron mines was formerly worked in the vicinity of the station. The Race inhabiting the Rajmehal and Bhaugulpore hills differ essentially in language, manners, and customs from their neighbouring Lowlanders. They have been estimated at 100,000 souls, and were formerly a lawless banditti, but about 30 years ago they were civilised and brought into a state of subordination by conciliatory measures pursued by Mr. Cleveland²⁶ the then Collector. Their Chiefs amounting to 35 in number are denominated

²⁵ *The Bowleah*.—Beng. *bowla*. A light boat with a cabin with rowers both before and behind. "We found two bhollas or large row boats, with convenient cabins," Heber's *Journal*. The boat described by Ives (1775) would have been far narrower and without cabins. "No bowleah being equal to the boeluhelas in speed, when my dandies are willing," Warren Hastings, 1784.

²⁶ *Cleveland*.—Note properly Cleveland, died on board the *Atlas* (the ship taking the second Mr. Warren Hastings home), and his body was brought back to Calcutta, where it is buried in the South Park St. Cemetery. In view of the account that has been published on the subject of Cleveland it is unnecessary to lengthen this note. It is not, however, generally known that the race of hillmen still date from the era of Chilmili as they call Cleveland's. The materials for a history of Cleveland's administration are in the Record Room at Daulim. It would be interesting to know whether they have suffered the same hard fate as most mofussil records, their publication would be of great importance to the cause of historical research.

Mausis and receive an allowance from Government, in consideration of their maintaining the peace, and supplying a quota of Recruits for the Corps of Hill Rangers cantoned in this vicinity. These Chiefs assemble twice in the year and with the *Sesawul*²⁷ and magistrate of the district, constitute a Criminal Tribunal for the trial of offences committed by the mountaineers. A handsome monument has been erected to the memory of Mr. Cleveland by Government, on which is the following inscription :—

"To the Memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esqr., late Collector of the Districts of Baughulpour and Rajemahl, who without bloodshed and the terrors of Authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence and benevolence attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungulterry²⁸ of Rajemahl, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds the most permanent as the most rational mode of dominion. The Governor-General and Council of Bengal in honour of his character and for an example to others have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th day of January 1784. Aged 29."

The Mountaineers²⁹ who have literally deified Mr. C. have raised a monument as memorial of their admiration of his mild and just administration.

29th.—We passed the Jongheera Rock³⁰ and overtook the Grand Fleet. This rock is a striking and beautiful object. It rises to a considerable height and forms a little island in the river, though it is supposed formerly to have been attached to the mainland. A Fakir has taken up his abode on the summit of the rock, where he has erected a singular looking habitation, which adds to its picturesque appearance.

30th.—Arrived at Mongheer, an ancient and extensive native fortress, now garrisoned by invalids both Europeans and Natives.

²⁷ *Sesawul*.—*Sasawal*. A halid commissioned to collect arrears of rent or revenue.

²⁸ *Jungulterry*.—*Terry*=*terat*. The border track between Bengal and Behar, but used very loosely by various writers.

²⁹ On the Cleveland (properly Cleveland) monument, Lord Hastings observes :—"The monument aims not at elegance. In truth though the erection of it was a proper and politic recognition of the individual's merits by the Company, the erection of it was in other respects superfluous. The reverence which at an early age Mr. Cleveland had created for himself in the minds of the natives will not suffer his name to sink into oblivion. The natives reared a monument to him at the other end of the town. It contains a small chamber into which they often go to pray ; and in the lapse of a century or two, the name of Cleveland is likely to be confounded with the manifold appellations which they have for each of their divinities. We dined and slept at Sir Frederick's house, where the hospitality was in the best tone." The inscription of the Cleveland monument is by Warren Hastings.

³⁰ *Jongheera Rock*.—A view will be found in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 262. The *Fakir of Jongheera* is one of H. L. V. Deruio's best known poems.

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



WE have had occasion more than once to notice the curious fact that although by the terms of its Charter the Supreme Court was one of Admiralty, yet so late as 1782 it had no Admiralty Jurisdiction. The reader will refer to a document concerning this subject printed in Vol. III. p. 165. The following opinion given by the Advocate-General in 1779 will further illustrate the subject and will be of interest to the future historian of the Calcutta Courts.

Having some days since received a Letter from the Board, in which I am called upon to advise them in what manner it may be proper to proceed against James Parkes, Master of the Ship *Favorite*, upon a Complaint from the Directors and Council of Chinsura, of a Piracy stated to have been committed in the month of August 1777, by the said Parkes upon a Vessel sailing under Dutch Colours, & with a Dutch Pass, in the Streights of Banca; I have attentively perused the several Enclosures which are returned with this, & am of opinion, that with all the Information they furnish in support of this Complaint it as yet amounts to nothing more than a strong charge without a particle of Evidence to sustain it, should this Government however be furnished with those proofs from Chinsura, for which they have called, & it shall then appear that there is Evidence sufficient to establish the Charge, the next necessary consideration will be the Mode in which it may be advisable to proceed in order to obtain reparation for the Injury, or failing in that, to bring the Delinquent to Justice.

For either end the Admiralty Jurisdiction given by the late Charter to the Supreme Court Judicature appears to me to be insufficient, being so circumscribed as to be not only incompetent to the cognizance of this matter, but totally inadequate to every purpose for which such Jurisdiction may be supposed to have been given to that Court.

Apprehensive that, for this reason, there might be a necessity (lest there should be a failure of Justice) for referring the Complaints in this Case to the Admiralty Jurisdiction at Madras, and conceiving it might tend to lower the Supreme Council in the eyes of Foreigners, if after having preferred their Complaint to this Government, they should be refer'd for Justice to a Settlement, which to certain purposes is, (& they may have considered as in all cases) subordinate to it, I have anxiously look'd round me, for the means of obviating that difficulty, & have found them in the Commission of the 5th of the late King, under which the President and Council have heretofore exercised an Admiralty Jurisdiction in this place, a Jurisdiction of wider extent, & Consequently more equal to the ends of public Justice than that which resides in the Supreme Judicature, & which not having been taken away by the 13th of the King, remains I apprehend to this Government, & may be resorted to in this and similar Cases of Criminal Cognizance only.

In the present Case, however, as the Complainants confine their demand merely to reparation & do not seem to expect or desire the Punishment of the Party complained against, it will I doubt not be a Satisfaction to the Board to know that, as he had long

before this Complaint taken measures to meet this demand, he will now by a cheerful compliance with it, as soon as time & circumstances will permit, & if required by giving immediate Security to that effect, preclude the necessity of a Judicial Enquiry.

JOHN DAY, ADVOCATE GENERAL.

February the 26th, 1779.

A subject which has long called for elucidation is that of the legal position of the Honorable East India Company in regard to its occupation of Calcutta. I cannot myself hope to throw much light on the matter, but it will be at least useful to review the matter in order to see where explanation is requisite. On 14th December, 1697, the Council of Bengal wrote to the Court:—

"By the death of your agent Charnock your Honours are disappointed in your intentions and expectations of having a Court of Judicature erected in Bengall & for that reason we presume the Honourable President and Council of Ffort St. George took the commission out of your Honours Packett before it came to us, our endeavours have been fruitless hitherto in procuring the nabobs and Duans' consents for a firm settlement in this place and we have no hopes of a grant for it soe long as this Duan continues. Wee have endeavoured to farm two or three Towns adjacent to us (Chutanutte included) the rent whereof will amount to about 2,000 or 2,500 rupees yearly which is a means to increase your Honours' Revenues in your Towne of Chutanutte for allthough wee doe make some small matter out of your Buzar by grain fines, &c., yett we cannot lay any impositions on the people, though never soe reasonable, till such time as we can pretend a right to the place, which this farming of the Towns Adjacent will soon cause, and procure us the liberty of collecting such Duties of the inhabitants as is Consistant with our own Methods and Rules of Government & this is the only means wee can think of till we can procure a Grant for our firm settlement."

The Consultations of 7th March 1698 show that in attaining these objects the English experienced great difficulties on the part of "the Jamidar of the country."

"Having try'd all means with the Jamidar of the Country adjacent to us, to let us have the town of Decalcutta at the Usual hyre or rent and rather than faile, having promis'd him $\frac{1}{4}$ part more than the place at present brings him in, & all to no purpose, he making frivolous and Idle Objections that he will not let us have any part

* Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. I., pp. 14, 15.

of that Country in the Right Honourable Company's name, but that we might have it to our use in any of the Natives names, the reason he gives for it is that the place will be wholly lost to him, that we are a powerfull people & that he cannot be possessed of his Country again when he sees occasion, whereas he can take it from any of the Natives that rent any part of his country at his pleasure; in Consideration whereof, & the difficulty we find in treating with these inferior Jimmidars in which there's neither Security nor Credit to what there may be, if we have the Country rented from the great ones.

"It is AGREED that we apply ourselves to the Prince, to make what Interest we can amongst his officers for three towns *Vist. Chutanuttee, Decalcutta and Gobinpore*, the ground of which will be to that extent required by our Right Honourable Masters.

"And send amount[ing] to about as much money as they have likewise allotted to us, and considering that we are making a Present to the Prince about other Affairs, we hope there will be the less difficulty in getting a grant for the aforesaid towns but if there should appear any, rather than be disappointed of so great a Conveniency as those towns will prove to the Honourable Company.

"Its AGREED that we advance a quarter part more than the Revenues bring in at present to the Jemmidar, intending to improve the same to better advantage than hitherto has been done & the Jemmidars are capable of....."

TWO questions may be asked (1) what exactly it was that the English sought to acquire? (2) From whom in the first place, and then in the second place, did they seek to obtain it? I think it may be said without hesitation in answer to the first question that what the English were anxious to obtain was the *Zemindari* of the three towns which form the nucleus of modern Calcutta. They had been willing to hold this free from the native zemindar, but negotiations with that person after a protracted attempt had failed; and to the second question it may be replied that the Jemmidars referred to was the ancient Hindu family of Savarnas, or descendants of Lakshmi Kanta Majumdar. Mr. A. K. Ray in his *Short History of Calcutta* which formed part I of Vol. VII of Census Report for Calcutta of 1901, tells us that the Majumdar had got themselves into such bad odour with the Nawab's folk on account of the assistance they had given to the English, that they were glad to sell their rights in the three towns for a nominal sum. The

* Op. Cit. pp. 34,35.



DR. CAREY AND HIS BRAHMIN PUNDIT.

Painted by Hunt.

records do not support this theory. It was because they found the Majum-dars unready to meet to their requests, the English despatched a certain Mr. Walsh to negotiate with 'Azimu-sh-shān.* After all this tedious negotiation the English secured a Deed of Purchase or 'Bai Namah' of the three towns of Calcutta, dated the 15th of the month Jamādi in Higri year 1110, or November 9th, 1698. A translation of this document by Mr. W. Irvine is given in Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William*, Vol. 1, pp. 40-41.

The consultations of July 2nd, 1698, record.

"Receiv'd a letter from Mr. Walsh that the daily complaints of the Jimmādars Vanqueels about our having the towns from them has occasion'd the Prince to satisfy them by ordering rupees 1,000 to be paid the Jimmādars, 500 rupees out of his treasury and 500 rupees by the Company."

On October 31st, we read:—

"The Prince having given us the three towns adjacent to our settlement, *viz.*, Decalcutta, Chhattanuttee and Govindpore, or more properly may be said the Jimmidarship of the said Townes, paying the same rent to the King as the Jimmidars successively have done; and at the same time ordering the Jimmidar [s] of the said Towns to make over their right and title to the English upon their paying to the Jimmidar [s] one thousand rupees for the same. It was agreed that the money should be paid, being the best money that was ever spent for so great a privilege, but the Jimmidar [s] making a great noise, being unwilling to part with their country, threatening to complain to the King of the injustice of the Prince in giving away their country which they had so long in possession, and finding them continue in their aversenesse notwithstanding the Prince had an officer upon them to bring them to a compliance;

"It is agreed that 1,500 rupees be paid them provided they will relinquish their Title to the said townes, and give it under their hands in writing that they have made over the same to the Right Honourable Company."

It is this point that the trouble in the way of explanation begins, Mr. Ray writes:—

"Under the terms of the deed of sale, they (the Majumādars) conveyed to the Company *all the rights* given by law which they were enjoying, and they guaranteed defence in case any person laid adverse claims to the property sold within its notorious boundaries. The English appear to have understood that they acquired by this purchase the proprietary or remindari rights to the villages. But in this they were mistaken. The transfer sanctioned by the *sanad* and effected under the deed, was deemed and intended to be a transfer of the rights to the tenant's rents, *i.e.*, of dependent *talukdars*, the *jagir* itself being, as all *jagirs* of the Khalsa were, non-saleable; and in order to emphasize this intention, it was immediately declared to be in the absolute gift of the Prince, the Emperor's heir and representative, and a few years later, in that of the Nawab Jafar Khan. The Company was, therefore, ordered

* Azimu-sh-shān, the grandson of the Emperor Aurangzib, born December 1663, but spoken of in the records as the "young prince." An agent of the name of John Antony Testmaker had been sent up to the Prince on other business, but he was drowned during a storm in crossing the river near Rajmahal. Walsh was accompanied by the Armenian Khwānah Sarhād who some years afterwards accompanied John Surman on his mission to the Court of Farrukhsiyar.

to pay, not as *revenue* to the Imperial Exchequer but as the *rent* of the *jagir* the following amount for the three villages :—

					Rs.	As.	P.
Dihj Calcutta	...	...	...	...	468	9	9
Sutalooti	...	...	...	...	501	15	6
Govindapur in Pargana Paikan	...	...	...	...	123	15	3
" Kalkatah	...	...	...	...	100	5	11
Total Rs.					1,194	14	5*

This is clear enough, but the late C. R. Wilson characterised Mr. Ray's view as "quite impossible—a view which contradicts itself, and is opposed at once to Muhammadan, the Revenue theory, and to recorded facts." Dr. Wilson says that the "Bai Namah" transferred to the English Company the so-called zamindari rights in the three townships, and these rights he specifies as :—

1. To collect rents from ryotts.
2. To deal at pleasure with waste lands.
3. To impose petty taxes, duties, and fines.

Mr. Ray himself, in an early chapter, had spoken of the Mazumadars as "the old zamindars of Calcutta :—" Dr. Wilson calls them the "so-called zemindars." Both Mr. Ray and Dr. Wilson agree that the land of the three towns belonged to the Emperor, to the Khālīsah or five estates, therefore the Emperor was able to grant the right to collect rents to whosoever he pleased. The Mazumadars had enjoyed this right for many years, but they had no claim on the land, and, according to Dr. Wilson, the English only paid them Rs. 1,300 "for the sake of peace and quiet."

The question is what was the exact legal position of the Company in the three towns after the "Nishaan" signed by Azimu-sh-shān. Unfortunately the document is lost. It may have been a mere perwannah permitting the Mazumadars to sell or the English to purchase whatsoever rights the Mazumadars had enjoyed. In practice it meant that the English secured just what they asked for. As Dr. Wilson writes :—

"The letters patent granted by Prince Azimu-sh-shān in 1698 changed all this. The English Company gained a definite status in the eyes of the Indian Governors. It became the Collector [Zamindar] of the three towns, Sutanuti, Calcutta, and Govindpur. As such it was empowered to levy internal duties and customs on articles of trade passing through its districts, and impose petty taxes and cesses on the culture tax ; as such it managed lands and exercised jurisdiction over the inhabitants. The exact relations of a Collector to the supreme government are a matter of dispute. Ordinarily, we are told, the Collector realised the public revenue arising from the land under him, and after deducting a commission of ten

* For this Mr. Ray refers to Izat Khan Diwan's Perwannah (No. 36 of Addl. M.S. 24039) in the British Museum.

LEAVES FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK.

per cent, and various other small charges, transmitted the sum to the Imperial Treasury. In the case of the Company this sum was fixed. In short, the Council at Calcutta paid the Mogul an annual rent of twelve hundred rupees, more or less, and was free to tax and govern the place almost as it pleased. In consequence of this change in the position of the Company, a new member was added to the Council to represent it in its new capacity. Henceforth a special officer, known as the Collector, was appointed to gather in the revenue of the three towns and to keep them in order. In 1700 Ralph Sheldon became the first Collector of Calcutta, and from him, through many an inheritor whose name is now part of the History of British India, the line of the Calcutta Collectors runs in succession to the present day.²⁸

In the old records Collector and Zamindar are interchangeable terms, and the Collector accounts are Zamindari accounts.

IN Vol. IV (page 21, *et seq.*) I published some papers concerning the capture of the *Indus* by the French on July 24th, 1782. The following letter should have accompanied the one I gave of the unfortunate Captain of that Schooner.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQRE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL ETC. AND
SUPREME COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.

CALCUTTA,
26th November 1782.

HONBLE SIR AND SIRs,

I beg leave to address your Honorable board on a subject to which (as humanity is concerned,) I am persuaded you will give a favourable hearing.

At the time the Honorable Company's schooner the *Indus*, Captain John Jones was captured by the French, I was second officer in her. From this unfortunate circumstance I was not only deprived of Liberty but of almost every necessary of life. During the time I was detained at Cuddalore, I had not the smallest allowance either in Money or Provisions. The French allait permitted me with some others to return to Trankabar, there to remain on Parole, but having no friends at that place to assist or support me, I found myself equally destitute, and tho' contrary to my inclination, self-preservation obliged me to leave it.

On my arrival here I applied to the Marine paymaster for the wages due to me, but was informed by him that it would be necessary to address your Hon'ble board on the subject, and obtain your order to him to that purpose.

As I cannot, (consulting my own safety), go to sea again during the war, and having suffered so much in the service of the Hon'ble Company, I hope you will be pleased to take my case into consideration, and order my wages to be paid. I am ready, and should be very happy to execute any orders your Hon'ble board may be pleased to favor me with.

I have the Honor to be, with the utmost respect.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant
JAMES DOBRINGTON.

²⁸ Wilson: *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 190.

IN studying the minutes of Lodge Industry and Perseverance, No. 109,* I have recently discovered some reference to Captain William Barrington whose tragic ending is described both by John O'Donnell (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., p. 578) by Mrs. Fay (*Original Letters from India*, p. 53), and who was a member of that Lodge. It is stated that he left "his widow Sister Barrington in very distressed circumstances," and it was proposed that the Lodge should contribute to her relief. The following letter will throw some further light on his past career.

4th September 1778.

HONORABLE SIR AND SIRs,

Understanding that you deem my Services sufficiently repaid by buying my Vessel, I beg leave to assure you that if they are judged deserving of recompence, that [illegible.] from that measure.

The Vessel was a very proper one for your Service, and the application for selling her was not from me. Nor would I have sold her but from the assurances I had of the Command being given to me, and that my Expences from Cairo to this place would have been paid exclusive of the purchaser.

It has been hinted to me that you think I deceived you in regard to the Sale, as most of her Stores were unserviceable and was obliged to be condemned. It's true I believe most of them were condemned, but it was not that they were really bad; it was because they could get new Stores, only taking the trouble to Indent for them. If you were deceived it must have been by those who Examined her by your order, among whom was the Gentleman who now Commands her. This I do affirm that had I been continued in the Command of her, I would have fitted her Compleat for Sea with every requisite for Less than Three Thousand five Hundred Rupees. I gave twelve thousand Rupees for the Vessel and was at an Expence of Six thousand more last December. I mention this to prove to you I could be no gainer by the Sale. In regard of my coming here I beg leave to mention, that it was at Cairo deemed of the utmost consequence to the Interests of the Company; nor does it take off from the merit of my coming, that the *Cormorant* Sloop of War, who arrived soon after my leaving Suer (the coming of which Vessel was known at Cairo) brought Later Accounts; my coming at least was of this advantage, that the measures pursued by your Hon'ble Board in consequence of it was (if Report speaks true) the very measures pointed out by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

I believe Gentlemen it has been for want of a proper Representation on my side that I have not been rewarded equal to my desert. I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Baldwin's Letter (acquainting you of my having quitted my concerns at Cairo that I might have the Honor of conveying the Intelligence to you) and the Recommendatory Letter from the Council of Madrass in my favor. I have only to observe that I left of my Cargoe unsold Seventy thousand Dollars, my Commission on which would have amounted to Seven thousand Rupees. The Vessel from my quitting Cairo was two months and half in your service, which at two thousand two hundred Rupees P. month would have amounted to five thousand five hundred Rupees. The above sum is what I have been at for your service, and from the known Generosity of your Hon'ble Board, I hope to be rewarded so as not to be a sufferer, [illegible.] has been an Instance, where an individual has that has

* The name of John O'Donnell occurs on the list of visiting brethren, 9th and 17th July, 1778.

acted for the Publick Interest of the Company and I make no doubt that I will not be the first. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Devoted Humble Servant,
WILLIAM BARRINGTON.

THE following is a pathetic letter from one of the most senior of the Company's Servants, Randolph Marriott. He "arrived" in Bengal, aged 21, on 25th July 1753 and was a fellow factor with Warren Hastings at Cossimbazar when the Factory at that place was seized by the orders of Suraj-ud-Daula. He was "of Council" under the Governorship of Vansittart, but when he was sent to Benares as chief in 1766 he got into trouble by taking illicit profits from the native mint. As we saw in our last number (P. 359, Vol. V) he accompanied Verelst as Senior member of his Council to Chittagong in 1761, and he was the only one of the three of the first Chittagong Council who did not become a Governor. Of his three early companions he saw Verelst and Hastings become Governors of Bengal, and Rumbold a Baronet and Governor of Madras. Marriott won great credit on an expedition to Tipperah in 1761. It fell to him to propose the restoration of Mir Jafar in 1763. After his trouble in 1766 he was relegated to Balasore where, shortly after the writing of the following letter, he died and was buried. The Verée mentioned in the letter is, of course, the father of the future Princesse de Talleyrand. The letter also helps to fill in another blank place in the list of the chiefs of Serampore.

178a. O.C. 9th Oct. No. 43.

BALASORE.
2d Oct. 1780.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs.

I duly received yesterday night your orders transmitted to me by Mr. E. Hay acting as your Secretary. I have sent to Mr. Verlee, late Master attendant at Chandernagore, who is here as on Licence and the only Frenchman, a youth born at Pondicherry of 16 more or less. But Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, I flatter myself I have never given occasion to suspect my honor, fidelity, and regard for Britain. It is now thirty years I have served the Hon'ble Company, and I think nobody can reproach me for crimes—treason. Faults I have innumerable. I am infirm—vertigo—a nervous disorder—ill—so ill that if I have nobody to take care of me and business in this critical situation I must dye abandoned. This is the reason I keep with me a person I can trust—French born but English-bred. The two French persons mentioned in your order are the husband and his wife, or the husband and a Portuguese writer lately dismissed by me. The former was never employed in any Service with the French in Bengal since his arrival in December 1765. He was secretary to Mr. Cha. Caseneuve, Chief at Serampore, till his departure for Europe, and after sent to Mr. Ch. Alleyn, Resident at Cuttack, in 1770 to be agent in the collection of salt on the seashore, and returned to Calcutta in 1772, where he lived with Mr. L. DaCosta, Merchant of the same place, who sent him here in June 1778 to superintend his mercantile business and collect many sums of money due (?) by his first agent. The same

person asked to marry with a widow of one Mr. Marriott, a person to which I give my . . . recommended to me by Mr. Chs. Grant, Secretary of the Board of Trade. He married here at Balasore, and lives with me since his marriage. I can assure you, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, he is a person from whom there is nothing to fear. He has no other connection than his constituent at Calcutta for his . . . business. These representations, I hope, will have due effect—secure to a long tried old servant, who never was guilty of an unfaithfulness a recall of the order you give me to turn him from the factory. He is absolutely necessary to me, and I will answer with my life for his good and honest behaviour, and he is willing to take the oath of allegiance if required, as an inhabitant of this place, where he has a house.

You can depend, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, on my carefulness in the management of the danks, and at the receipt of your orders I renew mine to them in a strong manner. I can assure you I never detain the packet a minute more than the dispatches require, but if any accident happens, I can't help it in so ungoverned a country as this is.

I have just received the enclosed note and letter from Mr. Verleë

I am, etc.,
R. MARRIOTT.

It will, I think, be of interest to publish from time to time lists of the Chiefs of the old Bengal Factories or Provinces. The following list of the Chiefs or Collectors of Chittagong is derived from Sir H. J. S. Cotton's *Revenue History* of that place, but it has been supplemented from other sources.

LIST OF THE EARLIEST CHIEFS AND COLLECTORS OF CHITTAGONG.

Name.	Received charge.	Date of quitting appointment.	Remarks.
Harry Verleë.	From the Nawab Diwan-Mohamed Reza Khan, 31st January 1761.	.....	Accompanied to Chittagong by Thomas (afterwards Governor of Madras and a Baronet) Rumbold, and Randolph Marriott as Members of Council, Walter Wilkins as assistant, and Gocul Chunder Ghosal as <i>darwan</i> ; Governor of Bengal, 1767, died. [Cotton writes that he "remained at Chittagong with casual leave of absence only, up to the end of 1764," but he was a constant attendant at the Board at Fort William in 1763.] During this period he travelled into Cachar.
Thomas Playdell.	Chief during 1765.	.....	Cotton has "Thomas," but this was "Charles Stafford Playdell"? See <i>Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. IV.
Francis Charlton.	1766—29th August 1768.	...	Arrived 4th August 1755, aged 18. Got on board the ships after the fall of Fort William.

Name.	Received charge.	Date of quitting appointment.	Remarks.
John Reed.	12th Dec. 1768.	Transferred to Calcutta.	.....
Thomas Lane.	17th Oct. 1769.	Transferred to Council at Calcutta.	Lane was one of those who had signed the remonstrance of 29th January 1766 against the importation of civil servants from Madras to supersede those of Bengal, and yet he himself had been imported from Madras. See <i>Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. IV., p. 201.
Walter Wilkins.	22nd Dec. 1770.	.....	Wilkins had been Supervisor of Tipperah in 1769.
Charles Bentley.	June 1772.	.....	.....
John Reed (2nd time).	July 1773.	Jan. 1774 ...	Cotton writes: "Mr. Reed, it is recorded, was sent to Chittagong in consideration of his infirm health, but he accepted the appointment unwittingly, being at the time a very senior servant of the Company, and only remained in the District a few months." He had been a member of the Controlling Committee of Revenue in 1771.
Henry Walter (acting)	January 1774.	.....	Married Miss Elizabeth Worrall on 3rd August 1773. He was senior assistant to Reed.
Henry Goodwin.	17th June 1774.	20th Oct. 1774 recalled to sit on Board of Trade.	See <i>Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. IV., p. 449; Vol. V., p. 146. He seems to have got in some temporary trouble on the score of alleged acceptance of bribes.
William Cotes (temporary).	.....	.....	See <i>Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. IV., p. 500.
Nathaniel Bateman.	3rd Feb. 1775.	31st Aug. 1775 appointed to Board of Trade.	.....
Francis Law.	6th Jan. 1776.	20th Jan. 1778 appointed to Board of Trade.	Had acted as Chief of Dacca, 1773. For the Law family see <i>Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. III., p. 370.

Name.	Took Charge.	Date of Quitting Appointment.	REMARKS.
Richard Sumner.	30th Jan. 1781.	1st July 1781 ...	Present with Hastings at the Benares disturbances. One of those wrecked in the <i>Dartmouth</i> . See <i>Bengal: Past and Present</i> , Vol. III., p. 122 et seq.
John Buller (temporarily).	.....	.....	"Mr. John Buller, at this time a very junior officer, was many years in the Chittagong Province; first at the district headquarters, and afterwards as Resident and Collector of Tipperah. Subsequently, in 1795, he was a member of the Revenue Board at Calcutta." Cotton, <i>Op. cit.</i>
James Irwin.	(Appointed 17th June 1781) 15th August 1783.	Left about 12th August 1785.	Warren Hastings writes to his wife December 8th, 1880. "Mr. Irwin breakfasted with me, and appeared in such spirits that I ventured to make enquiry about his wife, which I told him was on your account, and I believe you will rejoice to hear that she has been three days visibly mending, and by his account out of danger." Probably the lady was the "Mrs. I—" of Mrs. Fay's <i>Letters</i> .
John Buller (again acting.)	Appointed 9th September 1785.	Died at Chittagong 12th September 1786.	.....
Charles Croftes	.....	[Date of Lord Cornwallis' first arrival in Bengal.]	Had been Accountant-General in the Revenue Department and afterwards a Member of the Committee of Revenue. Satirised in <i>Hicky's Gazette</i> as "Idle Charley, the Bankrupt Merchant." Sydney Grier is in error in describing him as "Accountant-General of the Presidency," but correct in adding "In 1784 he was engaged in the manufacture of muslins and became bankrupt in the following year. Enfeebled by paralysis and assented by creditors as he was, he was given the chiefship at Chittagong, where Sir William and Lady Jones stayed with him, and where he died in 1786." He was one of the second Mrs. Hastings' Indian trustees. He kept a sugarcane plantation at Sooksagur, and contracted for rum for the navy. A monument over his grave inscribed "Charles Croftes, died, Chief of Chittagong, aged 42," is at Chittagong.
George Dowdeswell (acting.)	.....	.....	.....



WILLIAM WATTS,
Chief of Kasimbazar in 1756. President of Fort William, 1758.
(By kind permission of Mr. E. W. Watts & Mr. S. C. Holt.)

Name.	Took Charge.	Date of Quitting Appointment.	REMARKS.
Shearman Bird.	Before 27th October 1786.	Transferred 1st May 1793.	"Mr. Bird was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Purneah. On the 13th June 1794, he was transferred to be first Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Dacca, and he continued to hold that appointment into the present century. His son, of the same name as himself, was for many years Magistrate and Judge of Dacca and died there in 1824. His grandson, also the same name, has for many years held, and still holds, the office of Superintendent in the Board of Revenue." Cotton. <i>Op. cit.</i>
Cornelius Fryer.	Appointed 1st May 1793.	Transferred to Collectorship of Beerbhoom.	.....
Francis Pierard.	Appointed 9th October 1793.	.....	.....

WITH reference to the illustration of the medal of the French East India Company which appears in the present number I should give the note that Babu Charu Chandra Ray has kindly sent me. The Medal bears on the obverse the following legend :—

Lud : xv. Rex Christianiss.

on the reverse :

Societas Gallica Indiarum.

"The medal, which bears neither date nor the name of recipient, was awarded to Indra Narayana Chowdhuri, the chief *dubash* or commercial agent of the French East India Company at Chandernagar. Ananda Ranga Pillai in his *Diary*, June 11, 1738, (Vol. 1., p. 45. Madras Edn.) refers to the bestowal of "a similar medal on Kanakarya Mudali, and says the medal presented to Indra Narayana took place three years before."

Our kind friend at Chandernagore sends us the following copy of a memorial sent to the Ministre de la Marine by Chrisnorame Chowdry, the son of Indra Narayana, in 1788.

Mémoire.

Chrisnorame Chowdry, brahme d'une de premières familles allié à plusieurs Rajas de ce pays a l'honneur de représenter à Monseigneur le Ministre de la Marine que son père nommé Indra Naraine Chowdry est entré en 1716 au service de la nation française et ayant rempli la place de Devan avec attachement et fidélité, il regut en 1735 pour recompense de ses service une médaille de sa Majesté Louis XV laquelle fut remise par Monsieur Dupleix alors gouverneur.

En 1755 Indra Naraine Chowdry fit présent à la Compagnie française d'une aldee nommée Boro, ce qui ayant déplu au Nabob il fut forcé à payer soixante mille livres.

Quelques temps après il survint un événement dans cette aldee le Nabob qui ne pouvait souffrir Indra Naraine par la raison qu'il était attaché à la nation française, lui fit payer une autre amende de deux cent cinquante mille livres et en outre cent vingt mille pour les troupes ; Indra Naraine survécut peu à ces malheurs, il mourut cette même année. Chrisnaram Chowdry, son fils, succéda à son père dans sa place de Dewan et dans ces sentiments d'affection pour la nation française, il reçut de M. de Leyrit une médaille pareille à celle de son père Indronaraine.

À la cruelle perte que Chrisnorame Chowdry avait faite de son père, survint la prise de Chandernagar par les Anglais. Le suppliant fut envoyé par M. Renault, Directeur à M. Law Chef à Cassimbazar pour solliciter auprès du Nabob un secours pour la nation française, il lui fut accordé vingt cinq mille hommes qui devinrent inutiles par la prise de Chandernagar.

M. Watta, Resident Anglais à Cassimbazar, qui avait été témoin de la mission du suppliant auprès du Nabob, porta le dernier coup à ses malheurs en faisant demolir les deux maisons qu'il possédait à Chandernagar, et il fut le seul indien qui éprouva cette cruauté, il perdit en cette occasion deux cent cinquante mille livres.

Le General Clive essaya en vain de le détacher des intérêts de la Nation française en lui faisant les offres les plus avantageuses.

En 1765 M. Law étant venu reprendre possession des établissements français dans le Bengal, le suppliant fut continué dans sa place de Dewan.

Chandernagar fut pris une seconde fois par les Anglais le 10 Juillet 1778.

M. Dangereux, agent général pour le roi, reprit possession des établissements français au nom de sa majesté. Les Anglais, firent des difficultés de rendre Goretty. Le suppliant montra clairement que son père avait fait cette concession à la Nation française ; la partie de Goretty que Chrisnaram ajouta à celle que son père avait donné avait coûté à ce dernier deux cent cinquante mille roupies non compris toutes les depens qu'il a faites pour argenter l'epandue de Chandernagar et tous les terrains qu'il a ajoutés à ceux qui appartenaient à la Nation.

Chrisnaram à l'honneur de supplier Monseigneur le Maréchal de Castries de vouloir bien lui accorder un traitement honorable pour le faire subsister convenablement à son état.

Il ose espérer que ce Ministre noble et toujours porté à récompenser les sujets de sa Majesté qui ont bien servi la Nation, vaudra bien l'employer ainsi que son fils Cassinat Chowdry dans toutes les occasions où il pourra donner de nouvelles preuves de son zèle et de son attachement inviolable à la Nation française.

Il ne cessera de faire des vœux pour la prospérité de la Nation et pour le bonheur du respectable Ministre dont il ose implorer les bontés.

Nous sous-signés anciennement attachés au service du roi et de la compagnie dans cette Colonie, certifions avoir connaissance des faits énoncés dans le mémoire ci-dessus par Chrisnaram Chowdry, et nous osons supplier le ministre de sa Majesté de lui accorder la grâce qu'il demande qui a été mérité par son père et par lui dans toutes les occasions où il a été employé pour le service de la Nation.

Signés. L. C. DANGEREUX.
F. NICOLAS.
BEN DE VERINES.
NICOLAS DE LA MERLIERE.

Je soussigné certifie que le présent mémoire destiné à être présenté au ministre a été signé ainsi qu'il est ci-dessus spécifié par Messieurs L. C. Dangèreux, agent général pour le Roi, F. Nicholas Bre de Virines et Nicolas de la Merlière; que M. Dangèreux s'étant chargé de la première copie pour la présenter lui-même au ministre, il la emporté avec lui en Europe, que depuis son départ je lui en ai adressé une seconde copie par le vaisseau, *Le Noir*, capitaine M. Condé, et que M. Mottet, Commissaire de la Marine, Ordonnateur en cette Colonie et Commandant général pour les Rois des Etablissements français dans Bengal s'est chargé d'envoyer une troisième copie à M. le Comte de Courrai Gouverneur et Commandant Général pour sa Majesté très Chrétienne des Etablissements français de l'Inde.

À Chandernagar, ce 10 Février 1788.

Signé F. NICOLAS.

I SHOULD be very much obliged if any of my readers at Patna would trace for me the monument and its inscription to Samuel Charters who died in 1795 when Senior Judge of Appeal. He was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the Collectors of Jessore, and in February 1771, a member of the newly-formed Committee of Revenue. In December 1792 he, with E. E. Pote and John Fendal, was appointed to hold an enquiry into the conduct of G. F. Grand—or as Grand put it "rather to sentence him." I should also like to hear of the present condition of the tomb of William Augustus Brooke at Benares. It is a very great pity that Mr. J. Reginald Hand in his *Early English Administration of Behar* gives a large number of letters written by "Mr. Brooke," but does not give Mr. Brooke's initials. He tells us that "Mr. Brooke on the date of his appointment (*i.e.*, to be Revenue Chief at Patna, October 1781) was the senior merchant in the Company's service at Calcutta." "Sidney Grier" tells us that Brooke owed this appointment to Wheler, who had also given him his first appointment to India." Bishop Heber was entertained by William Augustus Brooke at Benares in 1824, and Brooke, it is reported, had then been 56 years in India, which would carry his appointment back to 1768, or some nine years before Wheler's appointment to the Supreme Council. According to the inscription (*Bengal Obituary*) W. A. Brooke died on 10th July 1833, aged 81. This would carry the year of his birth back to 1752 and he would have been about sixteen years old when he joined the service. Wheler (born 1733) would have been about nineteen years older than Brooke.* There is a difficulty in distinguishing between a W. A. Brooke and Thomas Brooke who was also at Benares at that time. The latter, for some time Collector at Burdwan, was the father of Rajah Brooke of Sarawak, who was born at Benares in 1803. Unfortunately Dodwell and Miles' *Civil List* gives us no assistance.

* Wheler was an influential person at Leadenhall Street, and could thus have secured Brooke's nomination.

IN June last I visited Rungpore and spent some time in searching out the oldest English records still preserved in the record room of the Deputy Commissioner. The cemetery contains many tombs of the typical character of eighteenth century Anglo-Indian monuments, but for the most part the inscriptions on the older tombs have disappeared. I could not trace the inscription to W. K. Amherst (+1792) nor that to Hugh Sommerville (+1808) both of which are given in the *Bengal Obituary*: but that to Henry Puller (1813) is in good order.

THE late Dr. C. R. Wilson in his *List of Inscriptions* gives the inscription on the grave of Colin Shakespear at Berhampore, and remarks: "It is said that this Colin was Thackeray's cousin and the original of Joseph Sedley." A similar statement was made on p. 196 of Vol. II of *Bengal: Past and Present*. According to the monument, Colin died on 6th April, 1835, aged 64, which would carry his birth back to 1771. He commenced his service in Bengal 1790. Thackeray, however, was not born till 1811. Colin's birth took place in about the same year as the marriage of Thackeray's grandfather and namesake to Miss Amelia Webb. It seems therefore improbable that Colin was any relation by blood to Thackeray at all. It was a daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray (the grandfather of the novelist) who married John Talbot Shakespear, and the novelist's first cousins by that marriage were far younger than Colin.* It is possible that Colin may have been a younger brother of John Shakespear, Chief of Dacca in 1778: in that case he would have been the uncle of the J. T. Shakespear, who married Thackeray's aunt—the lady whose Journal appears elsewhere in the present number.

ON page 174 of Vol. IV. of *Bengal: Past and Present* I recorded, on the strength of information from Home, that William Barwell married

(1) On the 15th February 1730, Mrs. Elizabeth Eyre

(2) On the 27th February 1739, Mrs. Elizabeth Pierce.

Since the issue of the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* I have had copies made of the Rev. H. B. Hyde's MS register of returns of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1713-1756. By the courtesy of the Chaplain of St. John's Church, Calcutta this register will be very shortly published in this journal. From it I learn that between the death of his first wife and his marriage to Mrs. Elizabeth Pierce, William Barwell married on 21st November

* The Rev. Francis Thackeray, a son of W. M. T. of Sylhet, married Mary Anne Shakespear, daughter of John Shakespear of Dacca in 1829.



FRANCES WATTS [BEGUM JOHNSON].
(By kind permission of Mr. E. W. Watts & Mr. S. C. Hill.)

1731-32 Mrs. Ann Atkinson. The returns of Baptisms give the following entries :—

1733, November 10,	Mary, daughter of Mr. William Barwell and Ann his wife.
1736, September 8,	Amy " " "
1741, October 13,	William, son of " and Elizabeth his wife.
1741, September 31,	Richard " " "
1743, July 26,	John " " "
1749, December 22,	Roger " " "

These dates are apparently in the old style.

I HAVE also to apologise for the statement (Vol. V. p. 370) that C. B. Greenlaw's epitaph is the oldest in the Lower Circular Road. There are in fact several older ones. My friend Mr. Madge writes to point out that Sarah Greenlaw (C. B. Greenlaw's daughter), was married to Major William Nairn Forbes, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, and the Mint, on the 18th June, 1836. Forbes died in 1855, when his rank was that of Major-General, R.E.

MR. W. IRVINE writes:—"In the course of his very interesting additions to my note on André Boureau Deslandes, in connection with Chander-nagore (Vol. V., p. 343) Mr. A. Lehuroux points out a contradiction between the baptismal extracts he gives and the statement in my *Storia da Mogor*, IV., 415 (*Bengal: Past and Present*, IV, 616). If an elder brother Joseph Deslandes perished off Madagascar in 1681 how came it to pass that a brother named Joseph was godfather on the 20th April 1692 to one of André's children?

"Probably the explanation is that on p. 418, Vol. IV of my book I ought to have written *Jacques* and not *Joseph*. Dr. P. Kaepplin, from whom I received the information, has on p. 122 of *Les Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, Jacques Boureau as one of the chief at the Malabar factory in 1674. Elsewhere he gives only the initial of the name, and I infer that the Boureau (Deslandes) drowned in 1681 is identical with the Malabar factor of 1674. Therefore the name is *Jacques* not *Joseph*. From *Ms. Français 30351* of the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Correspondence de d'Hozier No. 122, folio 239*) it appears that there was in Paris in June 1707 a sieur Joseph Boureau, sieur de la Brosse, who might well be identical with the brother named in the baptismal certificates of 1692 and 1695. In 1707 he took out an authenticated copy of the baptismal certificate (May 1689) of André Boureau Deslandes' eldest son, André Français."

MR. IRVINE ALSO WRITES TO ME:—"Mr. Mesroby J. Seth's letter to the *Englishman*, reproduced in your pages, does credit to his heart and his loyalty to his race, but as an historian, it seems to me, he requires to study his subject still farther and revise some of his opinions. On p. 389 he says: "As is well-known, the 'Grand Firmān' was secured for the English through the diplomacy and consummate skill of the Armenian Sarhaud." I advise all interested in the subject to suspend judgment until they have had a chance of perusing the long-delayed Part II., Vol. II. of the late C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. That volume is devoted entirely to the Surman Embassy. I think it will be found that Khwājah Sarhād was more of a hindrance than a help, that he made many mistakes, and that he was far from devoid of self-interest. John Surman has a good deal to say on the subject; and William Hamilton, the young Scotch surgeon, was a much more effective negotiator than Khwajah Sarhād. William Bolts, who belongs to a later generation, is not a very good witness for what took place in 1712-1716."

FOR want of space I am compelled to hold over the concluding instalment of the Midnapore Records, and an article entitled "the First Recorded Episcopal Visitation of Bengal. A. D. 1713." These will appear in the last number for the present year. Some interesting papers of Sir Richmond Shakespear are also in readiness for the same issue.

WALTER K. FIRMINER,
Editor.





SOOKSAGUR RUINS.

(From Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*.)



SOOKSAGUR HOUSE.

(From Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*.)

Secretary's Pages.



IN turning over the records of the early nineteenth century it is curious to note that many of the questions ventilated in the newspapers of the period closely resemble those that occupy the public mind in our own times. The necessity for a Press Act is perhaps more apparent nowadays than when the truculent Hicky appealed in vain against the "tyranny and oppression" of a Government that very properly cut short his editorial career, but it is of interest to note that nearly fifty years after the *Bengal Gazette* came into being, the Government found it necessary to censure Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin* for improper comments in the *Bengal Herald*. On 6th August 1829 the following letter was addressed from the Council Chamber :—

TO MR. R. M. MARTIN, PROPRIETOR OF THE "BENGAL HERALD."

SIR,—The attention of Government having been attracted to the article in the *Bengal Herald* of the 1st instant commencing, "we solicit the attention of the Indian community and the British people and Parliament to the General Order in our columns of to-day, etc."

I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to express to you the displeasure with which his Lordship in Council has perused the editorial comments on the General Orders above referred to, as containing matter calculated to excite a spirit of mutiny and discontent in the minds of the European soldiery, to whose worst passions the mischievous and mistaken notions inculcated in that article are addressed, and to caution you against indulging in similar comments and observations for the future.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

G. SWINTON,

Chief Secretary to Government.

IN connection with this matter *John Bull*, of 6th August 1829, contains the following :—

"We shall place the Editor of the *Hurkaru* for a moment out of view, and we shall remind our readers that a writer in a public newspaper, professing to be an officer of the Bengal army, has declared, "upon his

* The gentleman who published Buchanan Hamilton's researches but with his own name on the title page.

honour " that he does not believe, that if there appeared at this moment, an enemy in the field, there is a single officer or regiment who would give or obey the word of a command to march against them; and we ask once more, if this language is not calculated to excite disaffection and mutiny—to invite the aggressions of those who are hostile to our power, to alarm the friends and relatives at home of every European resident in this country? And moreover we assert it again to be a "foul and false libel" on the Bengal Army, by a brother officer, who disgraces the Commission he holds, and ought to be turned with ignominy out of the service. When the same writer goes on to threaten those under whose command he is placed, by representing the army as ready to pull down the fabric of the State, although they should perish in the ruins, where is the man of sober reflection, who trembles not at the consequence of such language to a power, resting, as does the British power in India, solely on the fidelity and allegiance of its army?

Yet such language, and from such a quarter, has found a publisher and a defender in the Editor of the *Bengal Hurkara*, who maintains the truth of the picture drawn by his correspondent, and the reality of danger, which he sets before Government *in terrorem*, insinuating that but for the "safety valve" of the press, we had by this time been buried under the ruins of the fabric? It may please the *Hurkara* to call such writings "safety valves;" we call them, without circumlocution, a direct incitement to sedition, and at the risk of the approbrious abuse we have encountered from the *Hurkara*, we have denounced them as dangerous, and in the name of a public, exposed by them to the loss of life and property, we have called for their suppression by those with whom rests the power to put a stop to them. We have not called down on them the punishment which the Law has provided for offences so serious as exciting soldiers to disaffection and mutiny. We have been asked, indeed, since they appeared, if the Advocate-General of the Honourable Company is asleep? In reply we answer, that a part at least of the public press is at its post and awake. The noble Lord at the head of the Government will do us the justice to look at the language we have denounced, and the quarter from which it professes to come. In a question of such moment, we are persuaded his Lordship will shut his eyes to every minor consideration, and only ask, if such writing is compatible with the safety of the empire committed to his charge, if the permission of them is consistent with a wise and upright discharge of his duty. We quarrel not with Lord William Bentinck's opinions as to the extent to which the liberty of the press may be permitted in this country, however much they may differ from ours; but its licentiousness, more especially when that licentiousness is directed to sow disaffection in the army, and to invite attacks from the ever vigilant enemies of our power in this country, we feel

assured will find no friend in the present Governor-General or his Council. The Editor of the *Hurkaru* seems to trust in the impunity with which he has hitherto been permitted to proceed, and exults in the conclusion that Government thinks with him, that the Press is the "safety-valve" of the State, and the published assertion of officers, "upon their honour," that at this moment not a regiment would obey the order to march against an enemy, the best means of guarding against danger of its "own creation." In this exultation we will venture to foretell that the Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* will find himself mistaken.

IN the following year, 1830, we find Mr. Martin figuring in a criminal prosecution on account of a libel inserted in his newspaper reflecting upon Mr. Wight, an attorney of the Court.

Mr. Prinsep stated the case to the Jury. The libel in question arose from a trial of an action of trespass brought by Mr. Cook against Mr. Pattle of the Civil Service, for entering into his house and maltreating his servants: a verdict for nominal damages was given and each party had to pay his own costs. In the *Bengal Herald* of the 25th July the following remarks on the trial appeared:—

"We have been informed that a case, which excited considerable notice, was tried at the Supreme Court during the week in an action which was brought against a gentleman high in the Civil Service, by a stable-keeper in Calcutta. It is stated that a general feeling of indignation was excited amongst those who were present at the trial, against the plaintiff and his attorney in consequence of such a disgraceful prosecution having been got up, unbased as it was, by a tittle of evidence. It is regretted by our informant, that 'the march of intellect should make fearlessly impudent those it fails to make wise, and that now-a-days it need excite no astonishment that an individual should allow himself to be urged on (heedless of the consequences to his trade) to seek notoriety and distinction, by the instituting of a false suit.'

"As our correspondent has promised to afford us, for our next number, 'a faithful report, drawn out by a professional pen,' we shall abstain from quoting any more of his remarks, merely observing, that such actions are more agreeable to lawyers than consistent with either their honour or the best interests of their clients."

"The learned Counsel contended that such comments, without the text, which would have enabled the public to judge how far they were well founded, were scandalously libellous, and calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. Mr. Wight preferred a criminal proceeding, because he sought not pecuniary redress, but to clear his character. The imputation was that

the action was a false one, got up by the attorney, without one tittle of evidence, and brought into court from mercenary motives.

"The facts were proved and admitted.

"Mr. Clarke, for Mr. Martin, stated the defendant (who is of the medical profession) is the editor of the paper; the native gentlemen are proprietors.

"He thought that if Mr. Wight was only solicitous to protect his character, he should have brought a civil action, in which the truth or falsehood of the charges could be shown, or why did he not apply to the court for a criminal information, denying the truth of the statement he alleged to be libellous. The learned Counsel contended that there was nothing of malice in the paragraph, and that unless that could be shown, this was a species of publication, respecting law proceedings, which ought to have the benefit of a greater latitude than was allowed to others. The only part of the paragraph which deserved consideration, was the statement that the prosecution was unbased upon a tittle of evidence: if this was true, as was the case, the publication, he contended, was no libel. The learned Counsel concluded thus:—

"You have nothing before you to lead you to suppose that the brief account of the trial which this paragraph gives is an untrue one, nor is there anything in that account which does not justify the comment by which it is accompanied. I tell you, gentlemen, that if you return a verdict of guilty for a paragraph like this, you will effectually fetter the press. There is in it nothing untrue; there is in it nothing malicious, for there is in it nothing which the facts did not warrant. The matter itself relates to a public, and not to a private transaction; and if, under these circumstances, the press is to be restricted from proclaiming public abuses, and those, too, abuses in a Court of Justice, to what a worthless state will it be reduced.

"I tell you, gentlemen, that you will do more to fetter and destroy the press than has ever been effected even in this country. No licensing system which secretaries may invent—no censorship ever was established—no banishing of Editors—no suppression of Journals, will work half the mischief that such a verdict could achieve.

"And is it in this country—and is it at this epoch—and is it by a Jury, that this evil is to be wrought? It wants but the one thing more, and it has it here; and that is, the precious cause for which all this is to be effected. It is not done to vindicate Mr. Wight's character, because that he has put out of your reach, for it is by a civil action alone that he can attain such an object; but it is to prevent newspapers from proclaiming to the public that an action is unbased by evidence, in which a charge was made at a time it must have been known to be untrue, and of which the Court have marked their displeasure in their award of costs and damages. Gentlemen,

I may speak strongly, for I feel strongly ; but never was I more sincere than when I now tell you, that if you pronounce a verdict of guilty in this case, it will be the epitaph at the liberty of the Indian press."

No evidence was offered on the part of the defence.

The Chief Justice, after reading the libel, proceeded to sum up as follows :—

"Gentlemen you see that the substance of this publication is, that it imputes to the prosecutor, Mr. Wight, that he brought a disgraceful and a dishonourable suit into this Court, unsupported by any evidence, and in another place it calls it a false suit, and the only question you will have to decide is, was this a libel calculated to provoke a breach of the peace ; and here I have some difficulty in suggesting to you any doubt in law of that fact. There can be no question that, for all fair purposes, a person may make a true report of what passes in a Court of Justice, and publish it ; but in some cases that is restricted ; even that has its limits, as in the case where a Counsel has been misled by his client, and therefore uses libellous language in his speech or where improper and libellous documents may be produced, not fit for general investigation, but which every good and honest man would rather see buried in oblivion than given to the public eye. Such documents the Court will not permit to be republished, for the effect of them, if republished, would be only to give a wider circulation to the libel. Gentlemen, the paragraph before you does not pretend to be any detail ; it does not pretend to be a report of what passed in a Court of Justice, but is the opinion of a public editor on an account given him by an informant, and reflecting on the conduct of a private individual ; whether that be libellous or not, is the question to be tried. It is true, that if a civil action had been brought instead of a criminal one, the parties here might have justified, and you would have had to try whether the justification was a true and a sufficient one. This has not been brought for the purpose of damages, or to soothe Mr. Wight's pain, or alleviate the smart of his wounded feelings, but for you to say, as regards the general weal and what is due to society, whether it is for the interest of society that an editor should be allowed to put forward such paragraph as this, that they should be sent forth to the world, whether true or false. I have no doubt that this is—I am bound to tell you that it is—a libel, and my brethren on the bench agree with me that it is what no gentleman has a right to say of another with impunity.

There is no man more fully sensible of the value of a free press than I am, and of the good it has worked for the public in all countries, and I trust in God it will continue to be a benefit to all the world ; but I do not think that one man can call another a rascal, for if such were allowed, none of us could live in comfort. But I take it that the course of society will put the press on

a better footing, that as society advances and improves, the press will become a little better mannered, and that in time it will arrive at a state as civilized as the intercourse of speech amongst us.

"I looked upon it, that writing being an invention of a later date, has not yet arrived at a similar state of refinement; and I think this a more rational course than that a man should be called upon at any hour to show that is not a rogue. If we wish to bring this case home to our own minds, let us see if that is justifiable in writing which we would not say to a man's face. We must see that, at this stage of society, writing is almost as frequently had recourse to as speaking.

"Not in this country, perhaps, but in England a man may, when he rises, have a hundred newspapers before him; he may read as much in one hour as he can hear in a day; for this reason, I say, they are limited within the same restrictions, that I know no good distinctions that can be drawn between them. For a man may be as much irritated with what he reads as with what is spoken of him. Similar rules must be applied to both these, for what does it signify whether a man writes that which is evil of his neighbour or speak it to him?

"If what is here complained of could not have been said without provoking a blow or a tumult, it should not have been written. In congregated societies, I may every day meet a felon, but I must not go forth as a knight-errant, and say to him "You are a rogue," because I know him to be so. There is no obligation imposed upon me, thank God, to compel me to go forth crusading, and saying what I please of every man; no, there are decencies to be observed in the intercourse of society; for if one person were allowed to write what he pleased against another, it would be throwing all things into confusion, and making the world an uninhabitable place. If a man receive a private injury, he may have recourse to his action or indictment, but he must not go out and proclaim it in the street; if the offence be of a public nature, in a well civilised country it will be redressed by those whose public duty it is to do so. Gentlemen, I have stated this much because, however clear it may be to lawyers, there is often a difference as to the construction of the law between the Bench and the Jury, and the latter have found a difficulty in putting the proper construction upon it."

"With these observations I shall leave the case in your hands; you will of course find a general verdict, taking into your consideration both law and fact. I have no doubt this is a libel."

The Jury retired for a few minutes and returned a verdict of guilty.

The Chief Justice then pronounced the following sentence:—

"Robert Montgomery Martin, you have been convicted of a libel in some remarks you have made on an attorney of this Court; I have already

adverted to the terms in which it was couched. It was in every way calculated to do injury to the party against whom it was directed, and to lead in all probability to a breach of the peace. In limited societies these things operate with additional mischief. In England, amidst the great variety of interesting events that are continually passing, men forget the aspersion, and from the vast society persons are less likely to come in contact with each other. Here, if a man slanders or publishes a libel of another, he may directly after, the next hour, the next moment, meet him face to face. It is no part of our duty to interfere with matters of this kind till they are brought before us by prosecutions, but we are then bound to inflict on the offender serious punishment.

"We are conservators of the public peace, and for this reason, when that is brought to our notice which is calculated to lead to a subversion of that peace we are called upon—we are bound—to visit it with condign punishment. I am sorry to say, that in this case the libel was calculated to do much harm; the person against whom it has been directed must depend in all probability for his support on his professional character, and you have imputed to him falsehood, dishonest, disgraceful conduct. In all places where the press is free, God forbid that people should be so foolish as to suppose that all that is printed in public papers is true; but these things cannot go abroad on the wings of the wind without doing much and serious harm for the person against whom the slander is doing injury. It may fly into countries where he has friends, and prejudice them against him. Your paper is perhaps now travelling to the land of his birth: he cannot follow this invisible agent, he cannot know whither it may go. I trust there was nothing malignant in your case, but we cannot now enter into that consideration. Having said thus much, I will now state that which must add materially to your contrition; there was no justification of this libel in truth. I am not going to enter into the details of the action: but to say that it was a false suit, an action without a tittle of evidence, would have been no justification, for it is not true in fact; on the contrary, the court found a verdict for the plaintiff, and nominal damages were given.

"I said that action had better not have been brought, but it was clearly a case where a client had a right of action; if so, an attorney has no right to refuse bringing it. I blame an attorney if he urges on an action which ought to be withheld, but there is no evidence that such was the case here; you could not, therefore, have justified it on these grounds in a civil action. I trust what I have now addressed to you, will satisfy you that you ought not to have published these remarks, and that it will make you more cautious if you should continue to have the management of a public journal. The sentence of the court is, that the other proprietors

be fined one rupee each; and that you, Robert Montgomery Martin, pay a fine of five hundred rupees to the King, and be imprisoned till such fine be paid.

SLAVERY Days in Old Calcutta was the subject of an article by Mr. Syud Hossain that appeared in *Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. II, Part II*, but no mention is made therein of a despatch by Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors declaring his intention of prosecuting any persons carrying on a traffic in slaves. In 1785 the Collector of Dacca drew attention to the magnitude of this evil amongst the Portuguese in his district, and the *Asiatic Journal* in November 1828 referring to the conditions disclosed in the Collector's report, adds:—

"Lord Cornwallis in noticing this fact to the Court of Directors, states:—
"There are many obstacles in the way against abolishing slavery entirely in the Company's dominions, as the number of slaves is considerable, and the practice is sanctioned both by the Mahommedan and Hindu laws. I have, however, a plan under consideration, which I hope to be able to execute without doing much injury to private interests, or offering great violence to the feelings of the natives, and which has for its object the abolition of the practice under certain limitations, and the establishing of some rules and regulations to alleviate, as much as may be possible, the misery of those unfortunate people during the time they may be retained in that wretched situation." No further notice of this plan, it appears, exists upon the records of the Bengal Government.

Lord Cornwallis had shortly occasion to fulfil his threat of prosecution. Peter Horrebow, a Dane by birth, commander of a ship in the Bengal country trade, carried off 150 natives, mostly children, from the vicinity of Chandernagore, whom he conveyed to Ceylon, where he sold them as slaves. He was prosecuted in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, July 1789, and convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 500 rupees. Upon this transaction being known at Chandernagore M. de Montigny, the French governor of that settlement, issued a proclamation prohibiting the purchasing or transporting natives as slaves.

Several other transactions of a similar kind wherein children had been kidnapped and sold as slaves in the Bengal provinces are recorded in subsequent documents.

A curious incident, connected with slavery under the Mahommedan law, occurred at Gya, in 1790. Two native Mahommedans having been convicted of the murder of another, were sentenced to make a pecuniary compensation to the widow and brothers of the deceased. One of the prisoners, being unable to make such satisfaction, offered, in lieu thereof, his

only son, as a slave for life, to the widow, who accepted the offer, which was confirmed by the Nawab's government. The magistrate was, however, directed to suspend the execution of the Nawab's sentence, until the British Government could interfere and prevail upon the Nawab to annul it, and compel a pecuniary compensation.

After the departure of M. de Montigny, the governor of Chandernagore, the traffic in slaves seems to have revived in the French settlements. Complaints were made to the Bengal Government that this infamous traffic was carried on between Dacca and Chandernagore. In 1791, an attempt was made by certain Frenchmen to establish a regular trade in slaves from Bengal to Pondicherry, chiefly natives of the Andamans. They attempted, likewise, to kidnap some natives of Bengal, and it appears that thirty of these unfortunate creatures were drowned in an endeavour to smuggle them on board a French vessel at Kedgerree. The proceedings of the Frenchmen toward the Andamaners, which doubtless exasperated, if it did not originally engender the hostility which these people entertain towards strangers, are thus related in a letter from the well-known Captain F. Light,* Superintendent of Prince of Wales' Island, dated 1st April 1791.

" M. St. Croix informed me that having been searching round the Andamans for bird-nest, he entered a large bay, and had landed several times without the natives offering to interrupt him though he went up to their huts. On seeing a canoe, with four or five people, near a small island, he resolved to attempt to get possession of them, to effect which he sent some people armed on shore upon the island, to prevent their landing, and in his boat he went after the canoe, and soon came up with her. The man in the canoe, upon their attempting to take him out, made a stout resistance and was not secured until he was wounded and knocked down, when, with a woman with child and two boys, who were also in the canoe, he was carried on board M. St. Croix's vessel. The next day, a large part of the natives came off in boats to attempt the rescue of their countrymen. M. St. Croix informed me that he killed two with his own fusée, but what further destruction was made amongst them he did not mention: he lamented that his people were poltroons, for had they been men of spirit he could have caught a great number of them, but he had a cook who knew a little of their talk, and by his means he could at any time inveigle them on board, that his intention was to get a large vessel and return to the Andamans, where he made no doubt of being able to procure a cargo of Caffees that would sell exceedingly well at the French Island.

" Endeavours were made to subject the Frenchmen who visited Calcutta to prosecution, but it was found that the existing state of law did not permit it.

* The father of the founder of Adelaide.

"The next transaction we shall notice is a very atrocious one; a native of Bengal, the illegitimate son of one Cammedy, who appears to have been an European resident in India, was sold for a slave under the following circumstances:—It appears from statement of the father, and the admissions of the other party, that Capt. Carr, of the ship *Barwell*, in the year 1777, requested him, who was an old shipmate of the Captain's, to let his son John go to England with him, and he would take care of him and bring him safe back. Mr. Cammedy, having no distrust, agreed to let his son go in the *Barwell*. When the vessel reached St. Helena, however, Capt. Carr landed the boy and left him on the island with his brother, the Rev. Robert Carr, the chaplain, as a slave. When Capt. Carr returned to Calcutta, he told the father of the boy that he had left him with his brother at St. Helena, who would take him to England in December 1787. At the close of 1781, the Rev. Mr. Carr having entered the ecclesiastical service of the East India Company, quitted St. Helena for Bengal, but instead of taking John with him, sold him at St. Helena for £50. The boy contrived to make his situation known to his father, and to the governor of St. Helena, by whom the fact was disclosed to the Bengal Government, who called upon the Rev. Mr. Carr for an explanation. This person admitted that he had sold the boy, as stated; but added, in so doing he had followed the usage of the island, verily believing the boy to be a slave, having been left as such on the island by Captain Carr, who had touched there subsequently, when the boy had not claimed his freedom. He, however, offered to pay back the purchase money, trusting to receive "such abatement as ten years' service and increased age usually requires in the re-selling of slaves." The Bengal Government intimated to the Rev. Mr. Carr that they expected a draft for £50 should be sent to their Secretary, for the redemption of the boy, and intimated that his conduct would be a subject of future consideration. The Court of Directors, when the case was brought before them, observed: "could we with certainty have fixed the criminality of such conduct upon the Rev. Mr. Carr, we should instantly have dismissed him from our service as utterly unworthy of being any longer continued therein. But there appears an evident contradiction in the representation of the father of this person (the slave), relative to the original cause of his son's captivity. In one instance he accuses a Mr. Butler with having behaved in this cruel manner, asserting that he had not his order to shield his son. In the other, Captain Carr, late of the *Barwell*, is solely charged with the fact and the Rev. Mr. Carr has unequivocally declared that his brother, Captain Carr, when he touched at St. Helena in 1777, left the person before-mentioned with him as a slave, and that he considered and verily believed him to be such."

In consequence of this discovery a rigid investigation was directed in order to discover if any similar cases had occurred; and a draft of a bond was prepared which was executed by persons taking native servants from India, to secure such servants against being sold as slaves during the passage to Europe.

ONE can hardly fail to notice the work of demolition that is going on in Old Court House Street. Scott Thomson's Corner was a survival of a style of building that had little pretence to architectural effect and space economy, and the block of mansions that it is proposed to erect in its place will doubtless possess an appearance of dignity that was sadly lacking in the old premises. The widening of the street on the Government House side unfortunately involves the disappearance of the trees that have hitherto lined the footwalk, and one is reminded in this connection of a similar act of destruction commented on in the *Bengal Chronicle* of 26th June 1828.

"IMPROVEMENTS.

"Curses not loud but deep, we hear, are pouring forth in various quarters against the talked-of destruction of the trees of the Respondentia Walk. A great many valetudinarians, it is said, have been accustomed to look upon a stroll under the shadows of these trees as the greatest enjoyment of their days for years past; and now, where are they to walk? Here as in London, the rage for building is extending in every direction, so that, save and except here and there, the handful of foliage waving at the top of a palm-tree like a broom at the mast-head of a lofty ship, we shall ere long have to travel a mile to get a peep at anything like a cluster of green leaves. The objectors against the destruction of the trees at the Esplanade, however, are a little late in the day; a day after the fair, indeed, in their objections. The construction of the Strand Road was on all hands approved of, we believe. We thought it ought to have been executed by the State, instead of being left to public spirit, *alias* to private individuals, because we conceive the making of roads to be one of the peculiar duties of the State; but that such a road would be an improvement we never heard doubted. What, then, was to be done with the trees at the Esplanade? Was the road to give way to them? Or were they to yield to the road? Between the trees and the water the road could not be made, or it would. The road might have been carried, say the objectors, to the eastward of the trees; yes, but, in that case it would not have been a Strand Road, must have taken an awkward bend to the southward of them, which would have spoilt the appearance of it altogether. The question then is, which is of most value to the community, the beautiful shady trees of the Respondentia,

or the continuance of the Strand Road down towards Garden Reach in nearly a straight line as far as Tolly's Nullah? We should say the last; and though we might cast many a longing lingering look behind at our old friends the trees, if the axe of the carpenter inflicts the fatal strokes which bring their green foliage to earth, we still deem them so many beautiful ornaments sacrificed to insure an object of great public utility.*

AS we go to press we have received the following three notes from Mr. Wm. Irvine:—

EDWARD EPHRAIM POTE,*

As E. E. Pote's life history seems to require further clearing up, I beg to send you some notes about him. The sources of my information are *Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of King's College, Cambridge*, by Edward Henry Palmer, B.A., (June 1867, a reprint from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*) and *Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*, compiled by D. S. Margoliouth, D. Litt.; Oxford University Press, 1904.

Mr. Henry Bradshaw of King's College, writing on the 12th November 1866, states that E. E. Pote was a son of Mr. Pote of Eton, was elected a scholar of King's in 1768, took his degree in 1773, and shortly afterwards proceeded to India. In a letter dated from Patna, 6th February 1788, Mr. Pote announced that he had acquired a collection of Persian Manuscripts amounting to more than 550 volumes. Of these he presented half to King's College and half to Eton College. The collection, contained in eight chests, arrived in England in 1790; and by an agreement made between the Provosts of the two colleges in 1795, the chests marked A, B, C, D were allotted to King's College and the remaining four were sent to Eton.

This somewhat haphazard division of Mr. Pote's gift did not work so badly as might be thought likely. In packing them the books had been arranged according to their titles in alphabetical (Arabic) order. Thus at Cambridge they have those in the first half and at Eton those of the second half of the alphabet. From the two hand lists I make the number of volumes to be, at King's College 272 and at Eton 220. Most of the volumes appear to have been bought from Colonel Polier, bearing either his seal "Major Polier A. H. 1181" or his autograph "Ant Polier."

Mr. Bradshaw with great insight points out the great service done by the early collection of these manuscripts, since many small historical pieces are included which serve to unravel the intricacies of Indian history during the sixty or seventy years before the rise of the English power. As a student

* *Bengal: Past and Present*, No. 10, p. 163; No. 11, p. 375.

of that special period I can confirm in full Mr. Bradshaw's opinion. I append notes of Mr. Pote's official career, obtained from the records at the India Office

EDWARD EPHRAIM POTE.

- 4 Dec. 1771. Elected writer for Bengal. (*Court Minutes*, vol. 30, p. 355.)
- 19 Feb. 1772. Securities—
 William Scott of Bexley }
 Thomas Best of Chilston } Kent Esqrs.
 (*Court Minutes*, vol. 30, p. 471.)
- 2 Feb. 1772. At the request of Edward Wheeler, E. E. Pote permitted to remain in England till next season (*Ibid.*, p. 275.)
- 6 Jan. 1773. Company's letter to Bengal, para. 6. "Being now recovered takes passage on the *Northington* and is to rank agreeable to his appointment." *Bengal Despatches*, vol. 6, p. 401.)
- 31 July 1773. Arrived in India.
1774. Assistant in the Export Ware House.
- Nov. 1774. Superintendent of the inferior adawlut of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue.
- Mar. 1775. Assistant in Kasimbazar Factory.
- Nov. 1775. Assistant at Rungpore Factory under the Board of Trade.
1778. Do. do. under Kasimbazar Factory.
- Dec. 1778. Junior Merchant and Commercial Resident at Rungpore.
 (*Bengal Civil Servants*, vols. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.)
- 8 July 1783. Senior Merchant.
- 23 Feb. 1787. Commercial Resident at Patna. (*Ibid.*)
- 11 Mar. 1800. Resigned the Company's service on account of ill-health (caused by the fracture of hip bone in 1790). Requested permission, in the event of his recovery, to return without prejudice to his rank (granted). Enclosed certificate by Surgeon P. Ivory, dated 5th Feb. 1800. Sailed in the *Lord Thurlow*. (*Bengal Pub. Cont.*, Range 5, vol. 11; *Misc. Letters received*, vol. 114.)
- 27 Aug. 1802. Reports his slow progress towards recovery and requests extended leave of absence for a year. Granted. (*Misc. Letters Received*, vol. 114.)
- 14 Sept. 1803. Requests further leave of absence. States his intention, if his health permits, of then returning to India.
- 21 Sept. 1803. Granted the six months' leave.
- 14 Mar. 1804. Resigns the Company's service on account of ill-health.
- 10 Feb. 1807. Requests to be restored to the service in Bengal without prejudice to his rank.
- 10 Mar. 1807. }
 16 Mar. 1807. } Granted.
- 17 April 1807. "Permitted to return with his rank to India."
- 12 Aug. 1807. "Ordered that Mr. E. E. Pote of the Madras (? Bengal) Civil Establishment be permitted to remain in England till the departure the first ships of the ensuing season."

- 9 Mar. 1808. Request of E. E. Pote "lately restored to his rank" in the Bengal Civil Establishment, representing the peculiar circumstances regarding his state of health and requesting for the reasons he has assigned, permission to remain one more winter in England.
- 16 Mar. 1808. Granted. (*Court Minutes*, vol. 122, pp. 639, 671, 1341; vol. 115a, pp. 1207, 1323, 1350; vol. 116, pp. 54, 508; vol. 116a, pp. 1360, 1393.)
The letter of 7th March, referred to above, under minute of March 9, states that E. E. Pote had consulted a physician at Duofermline and was now so far recovered as to render his return to a warmer climate unnecessary. (*Misc. Letters Received*, vol. 117.)
- 22 Mar. 1809. Declines permission granted to return to Bengal and returns "acknowledgments for the indulgencies shown to him." (*Court Minutes*, vol. 117, p. 1293.)

CHILDREN OF EDWARD EPHRAIM POTE.

Edward, born 18th May 1777	...	...	...	Bapt. at Fort William 29
James " 8th Dec. 1778	"	...	...	Dec. 1783.
Thomas " 9th Mar. 1782	...	...	...	Bapt. at Dinapore 5 April 1790.
Harriett " 14th July 1784	...	...	...
Robert " 22nd Sept. 1785	...	...	...
Benjamin " "	...	...	...	Bapt. at Bankypore, Patna, 11 April 1798.

(Baptismal Registers, Estate and Will
Department, I. O.)

COLONEL POLIER.

IN a note I contributed about E. E. Pote, the name of Colonel Polier was introduced. As he held office for a time in Calcutta he seems to have a right to be included among that city's worthies. The materials for his biography will be found in the preface to the work founded on his papers by his cousin Madame la Chanoinesse de Polier, 1742-1817. *Mythologie des Indous*, Rudolstadt and Paris, 2 Vols. 1809, Vol. I., Preface pp. III to LXIII, *Biographie Universelle* (Michaud), Paris 1823, Vol. XXXV., pp. 181-183, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Didot) Paris, 1862, Vol. XL, p. 605, and *La France Protestante* by Eugene and Emil Haag, 9 Vols. and Supp., 1846-1858, Vol. VIII, pp. 274-283. Madame Polier's account is chiefly from Polier's autobiographical notes.

Antoine Louis Henri Polier belonged to a French protestant family which had emigrated to Switzerland in the seventeenth century. His autobiography says he landed in India in June 1753 at the age of seventeen, thus he was born in 1736. Haag, on the contrary, gives the date of birth as February 1741 and of arrival in India as 1756. He went out to join his uncle Paul Phillipe Polier (born 1712) who after serving in Sardinia and Berne,

entered the E. I. Company's service and rose to be commandant of Fort St. George, dying in December 1738 from wounds received in a sortie from Madras (R. Orme, *Military Transactions*, Ed. of 1861, Vol. II., p. 395). The younger Polier entered the service as a cadet and in 1762 was Chief Engineer at Calcutta, but in 1764 was superseded by an Englishman. Clive re-instated him and added the office of [town] major and commandant of Calcutta. Under a rule introduced by the Company forbidding the promotion of foreigners to field rank, Polier resigned and entered the service of Shuja-ud-daulat in Oudh. Forced in 1775 to leave by the English, he transferred himself to the Emperor's service; quitting him again in a few years for the Company's service. Warren Hastings, who liked him, procured him the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel with permission to reside at Lucknow. Mention of him will be found in Miss Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings*, pp. 295, 309, 312, under the year 1784. Polier's "*Moracka*" on p. 295 is for *muragga*, a scrapbook, an album.

In 1789 Colonel Polier returned to Europe and married (20th January 1791), bought a property near Avignon and settled there. During the revolution the country became disturbed and some robbers assassinated him on 9th February 1795. A fine collection of pictures was sold to W. Beckford, and forty-two manuscripts, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, were acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Polier presented to the British Museum (22nd May 1789) his copy of the Vedas in eleven volumes. The Bibliothèque Cantonale of Lausanne contains a manuscript catalogue of 120 Oriental works with annotations by Colonel Polier. This volume is thus catalogued: "A. 392, Polier (le Colonel Antoine Louis Henri) catalogue d'une collection de manuscrits orientaux apportés de l'Inde en 1788, manuscrit in fol." Some of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum are from his library. Many incidental mentions of Colonel Polier could be gleaned from the parliamentary papers and the records, English and Persian, of the Warren Hastings' period. For instance, there is a short note by him on the distillation of rose-essence in the *Asiatic Researches*; and General de Boigne received his hospitality at Lucknow for five months in 1783—see Victor de Saint Genis, *Le General de Boigne, 1751-1830*, Poitiers, 1873, p. 50.

GOVERNOR VERELST.

IN No. 11, April-June 1910 of your periodical, pp. 349-358, you make a considerable contribution to our knowledge of Henry Verelst's Indian career. In 1893 I took down the inscription to his memory in Minster Church, Thanet, and not finding it in either the *National Dictionary of Biography* or Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, I here transcribe it

It is of value, insomuch as it gives inferentially the year of Verelst's birth, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. He must have been born in 1734, and if he landed in July 1749, he must have been one of the youngest Company's Civil Servants on record. The tablet is placed high on the east wall of the north transept. It would be amusing to find out the name of the *Calcutta Review* contributor of 1860; judging from the combination of lurid writing and gross inaccuracy, I venture to attribute the article to Colonel G. B. Malleson, past master in both those arts.

Near this place
lieth the body
of Harry Verelst Esq.
of Aston in the county of York,
Formerly Governor of Bengal
who
departed this life
October the 24th 1785
Aged 51 years.
He married Anne co-heiress
of Josias Wordsworth Esq.
of Wordsworth
in the county of York
and of Sevenscore
in this Parish
and left by her four sons
and five daughters.

IT should be stated that Mrs. Musgrave's water colour drawing containing a portrait of Thackeray in 1835 is reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, and of C. P. Johnson, Esq., the present owner of the picture. The latter name has been inadvertently omitted from the page upon which the illustration appears.

Calcutta, 15th August 1910.

CYRIL CHAMPKIN,
Honorary Secretary.



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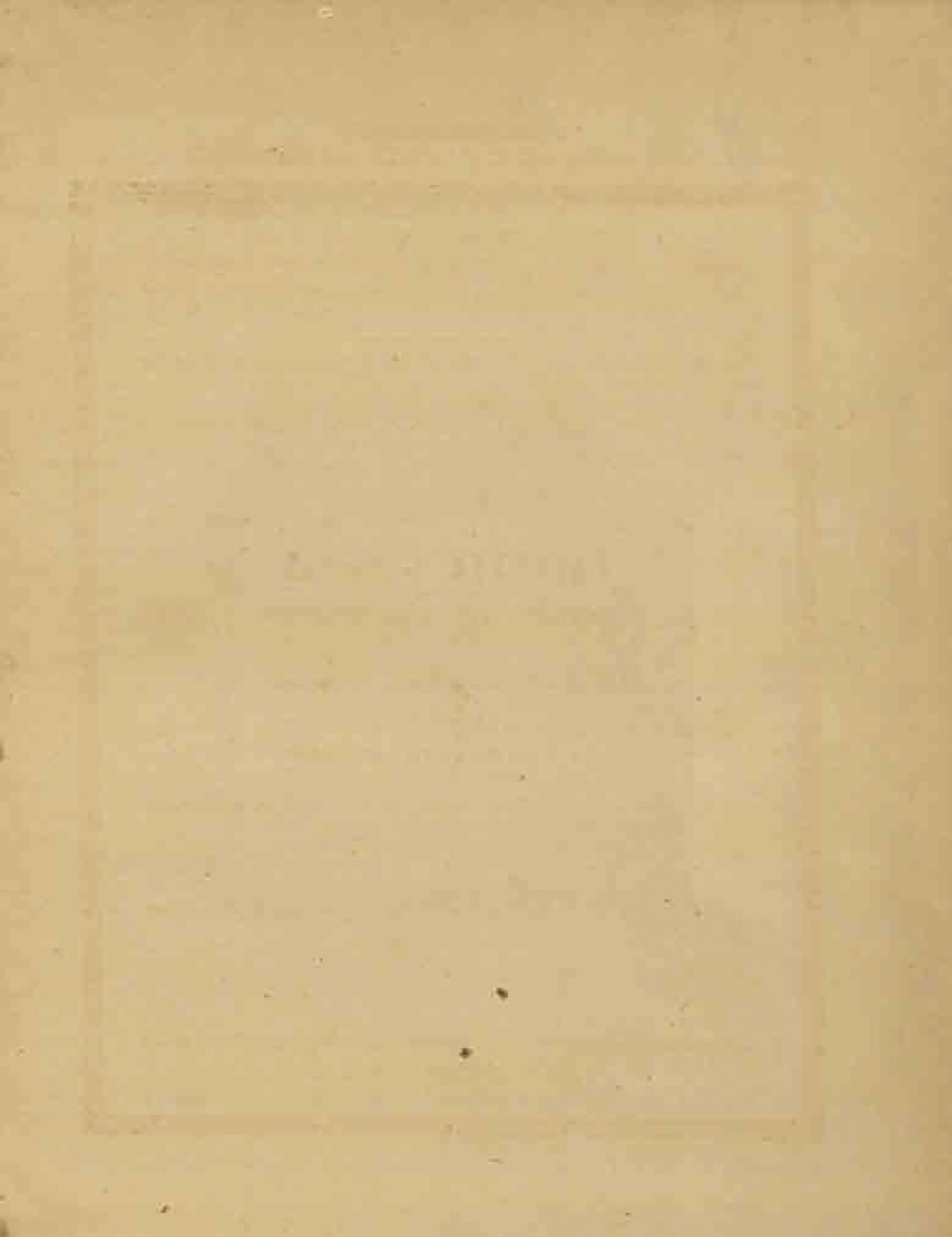
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